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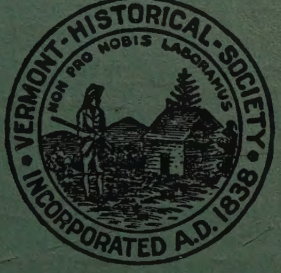

The County Grammar Schools and Academies of Vermont

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE COUNTY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES OF VERMONT 117

SETTLEMENT OF VERMONT. EARLY EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION 118

PERIOD 1780-1800. THE SHAPING OF LEGISLATIVE POLICY

Establishment of First County Grammar Schools and Academies 123
The founding of the Caledonia County Grammar School 129
Clio Hall 137
Rutland County Grammar School 143
Addison County Grammar School 145

PERIOD 1800-1820. DEVELOPMENTS IN LEGISLATIVE POLICY

Rise of the Private Academy 150
The Beginnings of Academic Education for Young Women 152
Middlebury Female Seminary 154
Windsor Female Academy 156
Montpelier Academy 160
Dorset Grammar School 163
Orange County Grammar School 165
Royalton Academy 166
Chester Academy 168
Thetford Academy 170

PERIOD 1820-1840. EXPANSION OF ACADEMIC MOVEMENT

Land Divisions. Varied Experiment, Enrichment and Progress 173
Educational Developments 174
Influence of the Church and Clergy. Establishment of Schools under Denominational Auspices 175
Newbury Seminary 182
Orange County Independent Grammar School 184
Contribution of the Academy to the Training of Teachers for the Common Schools 185
Concord Academy and the Work of Samuel R. Hall 185
Education of Young Women 188
Union of Manual Labor with Education 191
The Lyceum Movement 193
Case Studies 196
The American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy 196
Burlington High School 199
Burr Seminary 201

Period 1840-1860 (70). Rapid Growth in Number of Academies Chartered. Coincident Rise of the Public High School. Beginnings of Academic Decline 204

County Grammar Schools and Academies Incorporated Between 1780 and 1870 207

Postscript 210

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NEW SERIES *Issued Quarterly* VOL. IV NO. 3

THE COUNTY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES OF VERMONT

By EDWARD DEMING ANDREWS

The small academies and county grammar schools which sprang up in the segregated frontier communities of Vermont during the formative stages of that state's history offer to the student of education a fascinating field for research. For these primitive institutions were very close to the social, intellectual and religious life of a new country, and in the records of their service to youth and struggle for existence, a moving chapter is revealed of the character of a people profoundly committed to the ideals of independence and to cultural as well as economic development. They reflected in countless ways the ambitions, needs and conditions of the folk who founded and supported them under the gravest handicaps, remaining all along, as a result of their freedom from centralized control and their own peculiar circumstances, autonomous institutions varying one from another. Each school was a self-contained organization, adapted to its own environment, and flexibly ordered to promote, as best it could, the welfare of the intermittent students who could take advantage of its offerings. For sixty years before the public high school began to overshadow these picturesque halls of learning, the academy was active with change and alive with the spirit which makes education (before it is something taken for granted) one of the most vital of human experiences.

Besides their relation to the history of the state itself, the early secondary schools of Vermont present a wealth of material to the stu-

dent of biography: the lives and achievements of such teachers as Ida Strong, Emma Hart and Josiah Dunham—pioneers in academic education for young women; the practical theorist, Captain Partridge; Samuel R. Hall, the founder of the first normal school in America; the famous Hiram Orcutt of Thetford; Joseph Wickham, the great teacher at Burr who was likened to Dr. Arnold of Rugby; Twilight of Brownington; Colby of St. Johnsbury; Spaulding of Bakersfield and Barre; and many others deserving more than the passing recognition here accorded them.

To the student of government there is presented, in Vermont's sequestration of lands for educational purposes, an exceptional device for supporting schools of secondary degree. The sociologist may also, in the period considered, trace the origins of a new movement, its first attempts towards the realization of ideas and ideals, its contention with unprecedented obstacles, its use of the materials and resources at hand, and the interaction between a pioneer society and a self-conscious institution with a social creed. The manual labor movement, the lyceum movement, and the educational influence of the church have much of interest for the social or religious historian.

It is nevertheless the human, idealistic, yet common sense quality of life and instruction in the academies which constitutes, I think, their outstanding contribution to educational thought. Weak and inefficient though many of the schools were, they all reflected the conviction of a free and independent people that education was a fundamental right; that the welfare of the individual student was their greatest obligation; that the purpose of the school was not to repress, examine or standardize youth, not (primarily) to advance him to a higher school of learning, but to give him enlightenment, understanding and fellowship, to aid him in the development of his own personality and innate abilities, and by intimate association to help him on his individual way.

E. D. A.

Settlement of Vermont

Early Educational Legislation

THE first settlements in the territory now known as Vermont were made along the Connecticut River just north of the Massachusetts border. Fort Dummer, in the limits of Brattleboro, had a few families in 1724, a year after the blockhouse was built.

In 1749, Benning Wentworth, the royal governor of New Hampshire, began to sell townships in this area on the basis of a grant made by King George II in 1740;[1] by 1751, one hundred and eight grants had been made, and by 1754, five settlements had been formed in the extreme southeastern portion of the territory. The French and Indian war seriously retarded colonization, however, and by 1760, before immigration again set in, there were not more than three hundred inhabitants scattered along the Connecticut River about fifty miles from the southern boundary of the area.[2]

With the conclusion of King George's war, however, the settlement of the grants was rapid, and in the decade after 1760 the population of the territory increased from 300 to about 7000 inhabitants.[3] This movement, chiefly from Massachusetts and Connecticut, was actuated chiefly by economic-agrarian motives. Only in certain instances, as in the case of the Hardwick (Mass.) transference to Bennington, was emigration a distinctly religious affair. Vermont was virgin territory, land was cheap, and access convenient as compared to unsettled areas west or further east.[4]

An amazing unity among the settlers was achieved in the period of seventeen years from 1760 until the first constitution was adopted in 1777. In 1763,[5] soon after Governor Wentworth had initiated his shrewd policy of selling grants, Governor Colden of New York, basing his claim on an early grant made by Charles the Second to the Duke of York, asserted proprietorship over the same territory that New Hampshire was thus parceling out, and started to sell townships

1. *The New Hampshire Grants.* Being Transcripts of the Charters of Townships and Minor Grants of Lands made by the Provincial Government of New Hampshire, within the Present Boundaries of the State of Vermont, from 1749 to 1764. Vol. XXVI. *Town Charters,* Vol. III.

2. Only thirty grants were made between 1751 and 1763.

3. Thompson: *History of Vermont,* Pt. II, p. 30. Eastman's *History of Vermont* (p. 101) gives 7000 as the population for 1781. The former authority is undoubtedly correct, as it is highly improbable that immigration was so rapid as to swell the population from 7000 to about 85,000 (round figures of first census in 1890) in a single decade. The population of Vermont for 1780 has been estimated at 15,000. The granting of township charters by Vermont did not begin until 1779, following which date there was a rapid influx of population.

4. Mathews: *Expansion of New England,* p. 136 f. Also Adams: *The Founding of New England,* p. 152 f. and p. 176 f.

5. The preamble of the constitution of Vermont revised in 1786 gives this date as 1764.

which often embraced lands which settlers had already purchased under the Wentworth grants. Between 1765 and 1776, New York had issued grants covering 2,418,700 acres. As a result, the colonists, under the initial impulsion of self-interest, were driven to a militaristic defence of their claims against the aggressive policy of their western neighbor. In this common cause a solidarity was achieved which was further increased by the unfriendly attitude of the colonial legislature, which sided with New York in the latter's attempt to dispossess the original occupants of the grants. The band known as the Green Mountain Boys was organized to resist, often forcibly, the attempts made to exercise jurisdiction over their lands bordering on New York. Out of such concerted action and common complaints was born a unity of thought which rapidly developed into a consciousness of political unity and the desire for independence.[1]

In January, 1777, a convention was held in which it was resolved that:

> We will at all times hereafter consider ourselves a free and independent state, capable of regulating our internal affairs in all and every respect whatsoever, and, that the people on said Grants shall have the sole and exclusive and inherent right of governing and ruling themselves in such manner and form as in their own wisdom they shall think proper, not inconsistent or repugnant to any resolve of the honorable Continental Congress.

In July of the same year a constitution was adopted, and in March, 1778, Thomas Chittenden was made the first governor of the new state. The democratic spirit for which Vermont is so well-known, that democracy born of the frontier, is manifest in this first constitution, which provided for manhood suffrage, Vermont later being the first state to enter the union on such a basis.

It is unnecessary to the purposes of the present study to follow further the well-known fortunes of Vermont from this point to the time when Congress (motivated at first by the fear that the new state would join the British, and later, after the war, by a changed sentiment due in part to the withdrawal of opposition to Vermont on the part of the representatives from New York) modified her attitude to such an extent that the commonwealth of the Green Mountains was gladly admitted to the federal union in 1791. It is noteworthy, however, that in the midst of these political disturbances and the confusion over

1. Slade's *Vermont State Papers*. Documents relating to the controversy with New York and New Hampshire (pp. 10-195).

property rights, and while the patriotic colonists of the Vermont territory were contributing their share in the struggle for independence, the quieter affairs of peace and well-being, and especially matters pertaining to the education of their children, were not neglected.

Early in this period, when there were but a few hundred inhabitants, the interest in educational affairs is first recorded. In 1761 Guilford and Bennington each sequestered a lot for school purposes, and by 1763 the latter town had voted money for three schools. Chester voted to build a schoolhouse in 1773, and in 1775 Hartford elected a committee to care for and rent school lands.

The establishment of grammar schools was advised in the first constitution adopted in 1777. Section XL of the Plan or Frame of Government reads:

> A school or schools shall be established in each town, by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by each town; making proper use of school lands in each town, thereby to enable them to instruct youth at low prices. One grammar school in each county, and one university in this State, ought to be established by the direction of the General Assembly.[1]

That Vermont was influenced in this first statement of educational policy by the example of Pennsylvania is a probability borne out by a comparison of the wording of the above with that of Section 44 of the first constitution established by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1776:

> A school or schools shall be established in each county by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices: And all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities.[2]

In the above statement, the county schools are but vaguely classi-

1. Chipman: *A Memoir of Thomas Chittenden, the First Governor of Vermont: with a History of the Constitution During his Administration*, pp. 47-48.

2. *A Collection of the Constitutions of the Thirteen United States of North-America*, p. 115. It is quite probable that the Pennsylvania influence was exerted through the medium of Dr. Thomas Young of Philadelphia, who first suggested the name "Vermont" and was a strong supporter of the inhabitants of that territory in their disputes with the Continental Congress. (See Address of Thomas Young of Philadelphia to the inhabitants of Vermont, recommending the formation of a Constitution and the election of Delegates to Congress. April, 1777. In Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, p. 76.)

fied. The first constitution of Vermont, on the other hand, clearly recognizes three grades of schools: the common school, assigned to the town; the grammar school, assigned to the county; and the university, assigned to the state. In shaping this scheme, the legislature, composed as it was of men hailing from Massachusetts and Connecticut, may also have been affected by educational practices and traditions in these two states—by the town schools of Massachusetts on the one hand, and the early county grammar schools of Connecticut on the other.[1] The clause concerning town schools has also a mandatory quality which reflects the early policy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Another phase of the Vermont statement has special interest in the light of its subsequent importance in educational policy. The towns are instructed to make "proper use of school lands" in the support of their schools. The reference is to the school lands set aside in the royal charters granted by Governor Wentworth of the Province of New Hampshire, and represents the first mention of school support from land rentals.[2]

Two years later similar provision was made for the support of the county grammar schools. About this time the General Assembly of Vermont began to grant charters for townships in territory not already taken up in New Hampshire grants. In these charters one right of land in each township was set aside "for the use and benefit of the county grammar schools."[3] On October 27, 1779, the as-

1. The Connecticut Code of 1650 required towns with one hundred families to keep a grammar school. In accordance with this law, grammar schools were established at Hartford and New Haven. In 1672 a county grammar school law was passed which read: "That in every county town there shall be set up and kept a Grammar School, for the use of the county, the master thereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for colledge." (*The Book of the General Laws of the people within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut*, p. 63.)

2. The following extract from the charter of Norwich illustrates the reservations in the royal charters: "One whole share for the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts. One whole share for a Glebe for the Church of England as by law established, one share for the first settled Minister. One share for the benefit of a school in said Town." (Slafter: *The New Hampshire Grants.*) By an act passed in October, 1794, the General Assembly of Vermont appropriated the lands granted to the Society, and in 1805 the Glebe rights were directed to be applied to the support of the common schools. (*Acts and Laws*, 1805. Chap. 72, pp. 127-128.)

3. Five "public wrights" in all were appropriated: "One right for the use

sembly granted such a charter creating the town of Bethel and two days later one creating the town of Derby. Governor Chittenden signed and issued the Derby charter on October 29, thus making this town the first one formed from the state's unchartered lands, and the right in this town the first set aside for the benefit of future grammar schools.

What influences suggested this policy of granting lands for the use of grammar schools, it is impossible to ascertain. A precedent is found, however, in the early educational history of Connecticut, from which state Governor Chittenden and the large majority of the assembly originated. In 1672 the Court of Election (in Connecticut) granted six hundred acres of land apiece to the county towns of Fairfield and New London for the benefit of the grammar schools located in those towns. Similar grants were made to New Haven and Hartford.[1] Small also records scattered instances in Massachusetts. The practice of granting lands for educational purposes goes far back into New England history, though generally the grants were made for the benefit of the common schools, and most often by the towns themselves. Such acts on the part of colonial governments may possibly have served as models for the framers of Vermont's early educational system.

Period 1780-1800

The Shaping of Legislative Policy. Establishment of First County Grammar Schools and Academies

When the first academy in Vermont—Clio Hall at Bennington—was chartered by the legislature in 1780, the attention of the state was still absorbed in its troubles with the Continental Congress and its eastern and western neighbors. Colonel Ira Allen was initiating a series of strategic conferences with the British in Canada; Congress

and benefit of a college, within this state; one right for the use and benefit of the county grammar schools throughout this state; one right for the first settled minister of the gospel in said township forever; one right for the support of the ministry in said town to be disposed of for that use, as the inhabitants thereof shall from time to time agree; also one right for the use and benefit of an English school or schools in said township. . . ." (*State Papers of Vermont*, Vol. II. Charters Granted by the State of Vermont. The quotation is from the Brownington charter.)

1. Small: *Early New England Schools*, p. 217.

was still ignoring the protests of the colonists against their treatment by New York, and soon was to go so far as to threaten Vermont with invasion; and the war for independence was still unsettled. It was nine years before New York was to be willing to relinquish its pretensions, and eleven years before the state was to be admitted to the union.

The period under consideration, 1780-1800, was a most important one, however, in the settlement and organization of the territory. Although the American Revolution had again retarded the flow of immigration, "by 1780 the tide . . . flowed out again to the north as well as the west."[1] In this year twelve villages were planted in Vermont. By 1790, 211 towns had been settled or marked off, the population of the state had increased to 85,425, and the northern part of the state had been well opened to colonization. At the turn of the century the official census reported 154,465 inhabitants. These colonists came chiefly from Connecticut and Massachusetts, with a small percentage from Rhode Island. Rossiter states that "it is probable that no state in the Union was settled by choicer immigration than that which passed up the Connecticut river to the Green Mountains. . . . The settlers . . . were all acclimated, hardy, accustomed from childhood to the use of axe and gun, eager, and full of ambitious purpose to found homes and communities of their own. They were all of the same stock; they possessed the same ideals; they were animated by the same purpose."[2]

The stress of persecution and war did not keep the Republic of the Green Mountains from organizing her internal affairs in an independent and effective fashion. From the time of the adoption of the first constitution until the "republic" was admitted as the fourteenth state of the union in 1791, she industriously framed, executed and enforced essential laws, issued and regulated her own coinage, prescribed a standard of weights and measures, and established a postal service.

Educational affairs were not neglected. At the session of the legislature in October, 1781, an act was passed enabling towns to levy taxes on their lands for the purpose of building schoolhouses;

1. Mathews: *op. cit.*, p. 131.

2. Rossiter: *An Historical and Statistical Study of the Progress of the State of Vermont*, p. 409. Of the 85,425 inhabitants reported in 1790, 81,200 were of English origin and 2600 of Scotch descent.

and a year later the first general school law was enacted. Provision was made in this law for the division of towns into districts for school purposes and for the raising of money and the election of trustees for town schools. It was also provided that "the judges of the county courts, in their respective counties, shall have power to appoint trustees of county schools; who shall have the same powers in all matters relating to their trust as trustees of town schools; and shall be in like manner accountable to the judges by whom they were respectively appointed."[1] The county court judges had a further function: "Calling to their assistance the justices of peace in their several counties, they shall have power to lay a tax on the same, for the purpose of building a county school-house in each county; to be collected by a warrant from the county treasurer, in the same manner as the State taxes are."

The provisions for secondary or grammar school education in the school law of 1782 were permissive rather than mandatory. This purely advisory attitude is again discernible in the constitution adopted by the state in 1786. Chapter 38 states that "a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town, for the convenient instruction of youth, and one or more grammar schools be incorporated, and properly supported in each county in this state."[2] This statement was reaffirmed at the constitutional convention held at Windsor in July, 1793. (Section 41, Constitution of 1793.)

The somewhat indeterminate nature of the state's early educational policies is emphasized by the following summary of legislation up to 1787:

1777 Schools shall be established in each town. One grammar school in each county . . . ought to be established.

1779 Provision for the support of town and county schools by means of land incomes.

1781 Additional support for town schools through local taxation.

1782 Provision for organization (and support) of town schools. Powers given to county court judges to appoint trustees for county schools and to levy taxes on county for benefit of these schools.

1. This function of the county courts was reasserted at later intervals. (See *Statutes of the State of Vermont:* Revised and Established by Authority in the year 1787, Bennington, 1791, p. 179. Also *The Laws of the State of Vermont,* Vol. II, Randolph, 1808, for copy of an almost identical act passed Oct. 31, 1797.)

2. *The Constitution of the United States, According to the latest Amendments.* Philadelphia, 1791, p. 156.

1786 Schools ought to be maintained in each town. One or more county grammar schools ought to be incorporated and properly supported in each county.

1787 In the Act for Appointing and Supporting Schools the 1782 clause on the support of county schools by taxation is eliminated.

In regard to the town or common schools, the "shall be established" policy of 1777 changed to an "ought to be maintained" policy in 1786. In regard to county grammar schools, the first constitution suggested one to each county, while the second suggested "one or more"; in 1777, such schools "ought to be established," while in 1786 they "ought to be incorporated." It is apparent that up to and including the year 1782, both these types of schools were considered by the legislature as public institutions, one type to be assigned to the town and the other to the county, and both to be under the control of trustees (appointed in one case by the town and in the other by the judges of the county courts). Provisions for the support of the two types of schools further indicate that no distinction was originally made as to their character: land rights were reserved in the township charters for the use of both kinds of schools, and in 1781 and 1782 towns and counties were made units for the tax-support of their respective institutions.

A distinct change in policy is apparent, however, in the constitutional provisions of 1786. Though the establishment of both the town and county schools was still left (by implication) to the option of the town and county respectively, the provision for the "incorporation" of the county schools as well as the indefiniteness of the provision for support suggest that the state was beginning to swing to the conception of privately controlled and supported grammar or secondary schools. The omission of the clause on taxation in the school law of 1787 is significant.

It is difficult to say what caused this change in policy. The incorporation of Clio Hall as a private academy in 1780 may have served as a precedent whose influence was not felt in 1782, but to which the state tentatively committed itself in 1786. The fact that the towns had a political vitality and a corporate unity not possible to the county, and that the initiative for the establishment of this first secondary school in Vermont came from the town, may have influenced the framers of the second constitution of the state. At any rate, the legislature, in establishing the first county grammar school at Norwich in 1785, failed to make the county responsible for its support; and

in 1787 the act establishing the second county grammar school (at Castleton) definitely prescribed that Rutland county should not be "at any cost or charge in compleating or repairing" the schoolhouse.

An examination of the acts establishing or incorporating the first five academies and county grammar schools in Vermont will show the trend of legislation up to the time when the Caledonia County Grammar School was incorporated on a more definite basis.[1]

1780 Clio Hall.
Without elaboration the act makes twelve petitioning individuals a "Body Politic and Corporate in Law." It commends as "laudable" their "purpose of promoting Literature," and reveals that these men had entered into "a voluntary Association and Subscription for erecting a Seminary of Learning." Finally the legislature reserves the right to keep the school, after "the Time Being," at any other place than Bennington.

1785 Windsor County Grammar School.
The act for establishing a county grammar school at Norwich in Windsor County was passed June 17, 1785. It is brief, and merely fixed the location: "Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of Freemen of the State of Vermont in General assembly met and by the authority of the same; that the place for keeping a County Grammar School in and for Windsor County shall be at the House commonly known by the name of the red School House in Norwich."[2] This school is generally conceded to have been the first county grammar school incorporated by the legislature of Vermont. As a matter of fact, the institution was not actually chartered until November 11, 1807. In the meantime the school probably functioned pursuant to the act for

1. At first the chief distinction between a county grammar school and an academy was that in the sense of the legislature the former conformed both in nomenclature and function with constitutional policy and was presumably located with the purpose of serving a district roughly equivalent to the county in question. Since the county grammar school at first was favored with no preferential assistance from the state, the matter of nomenclature was not always considered important by bodies petitioning for incorporation. Later, when some such assistance was provided through the rental of school lands, certain schools located in areas where these lands existed applied for charters as county grammar schools, or appealed to have their names or status altered so that they might be technically qualified to benefit from such rentals. Secondary schools sometimes went under the names of halls, seminaries, societies, associations, institutes or high schools. Both grammar schools and academies were institutions so organized that they could give instruction in college-preparatory subjects; and their courses of study were of distinctly higher grade than those in the district or common schools.

2. *A Journal of the Proceedings of the General Assembly*, Windsor, 1785.

appointing and supporting schools (School law of 1782), which granted corporate powers in school affairs to the selectmen and other officers appointed by the town. Certain trustees must have been named, for on October 21, 1788, an act was passed "granting the Trustees of the Grammar School in Windsor County leave to raise the sum of £150 by lottery." The necessity for this legalized lottery, which was to raise money to complete the school building, presupposes that that part of the 1782 law which pertained to the taxation of the county for the support of county schools was not enforced in this first test of its validity.

1787 Rutland County Grammar School.

The first legislative enactment on this school also limited itself to location: a board of trustees with corporate rights and privileges was not incorporated until October 29, 1805. The original act, passed October 15, 1787, reads thus:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont that the place for keeping a County Grammar School in and for Rutland County Shall be at the house commonly known by the name of the new School house near Doct William Wolcotts in said Castleton—Provided that the county of Rutland shall not be at any cost or charge in compleating or repairing said house.—"

The act is noteworthy in that it puts the expense of building the school, and of keeping it in repair, squarely up to the town itself. Although the act incorporating the school in 1805 made the County Court of Rutland county a judge over the fitness of the inhabitants of Castleton to keep the schoolhouse (then rebuilt after fire) in good repair, the institution was made by the original act virtually a town school. The failure of the legislature to make the county financially responsible for building the schools at Norwich and Castleton (as well as the absence of provisions for support in the school act of 1787) indicates that it meant to make these secondary schools purely local in support. The weakness of the county system was thus early foreshadowed.

1791 Athens Grammar School (Windham Hall).

An act incorporating the members of Athens Grammar School into a Society was passed Nov. 3, 1791. The school was projected as a charitable institution for the education of poor and orphan children within the county of Windham; the trustees were chosen by the "subscribers and Donors" to the school. The enactment simply limited the board to thirteen members, and granted to the Society "all the privileges and immunities which any other scholastic societies in this state are by law entitled."

Little is known of the school's history. An act in addition to the above act was passed Nov. 1, 1795, by which it appears that it was to be a county institution; full power and authority were given to the trustees "to fix upon the most convenient place within the county . . . for the erecting the necessary building or buildings for said school, having due and proper respect as well to the donations for the expense of building

or buildings and the sums subscribed as a fund for the support of poor schollars in said school . . ." The trustees were given further authority to appropriate the monies of this fund "for the education of such poor and orphan children within the county of Windham as the trustees of said school or a majority of them shall direct."

There is no evidence, however, to show that this Windham Hall, if it ever had more than a legal existence, was a county grammar school. The reference to "poor and orphan children" indicates that the instruction was likely to be of an elementary nature. Though the school was supported by individuals distributed over the county rather than in one community, their interest in the project was a distinctly charitable one. Moreover, the accepted county grammar school for Windham County was soon afterwards (in 1801) located in Newfane, the county seat.[1]

1792 Cavendish Academy.

The first legislation relating to Cavendish Academy was entitled "An Act incorporating the members of Cavendish grammar school into a society." This act, passed October 26, 1792, established the name "Cavendish Academy" and gave the "society" the privilege of electing trustees and of adopting regulations and by-laws. On Nov. 2, 1813, another act was passed in which six incorporators, with their "associates and Successors," were granted the customary rights and privileges of a corporation.

By such legislative acts, academies and grammar schools gradually assumed the character of privately controlled institutions operating without county or state support.

The Founding of the Caledonia County Grammar School

The organization of the Caledonia County Grammar School in 1795 involved certain agreements between the town and state which resulted in a more clearly defined legislative policy toward both the support and control of the county school "system." The impulse for the founding of this school originated, as in other cases, in the town itself. In 1795, the enterprising community of Peacham "had

1. This latter school also was known as Windham Hall. If the Athens school had survived, the duplication in nomenclature would not have occurred. Mr. G. W. Powers, town clerk of Athens and superintendent of schools of the Windham Central District, reports that he never heard of an academy or grammar school there. The history of Putney, in which town (at Noah Sabin's house) the trustees of Athens Grammar School were directed to meet by an act passed Nov. 1, 1793, reveals nothing of a school in that place.

reached the proportions of a thriving community."[1] In ten years its growth had been rapid, and it was considered one of the most important towns of the State. "At this time William Chamberlain, town clerk, reported the grand list of the town as returned by the listers to be 2,230." In the belief that either a Court House or County Grammar School would "enhance the glory of the town and bring substantial advantage," certain leading citizens inserted the following article in the warning for a town meeting to be held Sept. 15, 1795:

> 2d to see if the town will Authorize Wm. Chamberlin, Esq., to engage in behalf of the Town to build a Court House or County Grammar School House or any other Publick Building upon the Expense of the Town with what will be subscribed, if any of the above privileges are granted by the Legislature.[2]

The sentiment of the town was divided between the court house and school, but the influence of certain leading citizens prevailed in favor of the school. Having decided that point, the town acted promptly. Soon after the first town meeting, another was held in which it was: "Voted That in case a grant of the County Grammar School can be obtained by Act of Assembly and Established in the town of Peacham, That the Town will Support a Preceptor for the term of three years from the first day of January, A. D. 1797, Provided the Persons who live in the vicinity of the place where the Building will probably be built will Subscribe a Sum Sufficient for Erecting the Buildings that shall be required by the Trustees and that the Town Clerk be Directed to receive subscriptions to the amount of three Hundred Pounds."[3]

At an adjourned meeting soon afterward, the town voted: "That the right granted by the charter of the Town to the Incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel in Foreign parts be relinquished and given up to the County Grammar School, provided the same be established in this Town."[4]

A memorial was drafted by the townspeople to be presented to the Legislature in which they promised to build the school, furnish the land, and support the preceptor for three years. The full extent of the promises made appears in the following report of the Assembly Committee to which this memorial was referred:

1. Bunker: In *Report of the Commemorative Exercises, One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Caledonia County Grammar School*, pp. 40-41.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

The committee to whom was referred the petition of the inhabitants of the town of Peacham, stating, That whereas for the promotion of general science, and the education of youth in literature and the arts, the Legislature have liberally provided, in the appropriation of one right of land in the several townships granted by this state, for the use of a county grammar-school; to cooperate in the same views, and to facilitate this attainment, the inhabitants of Peacham, impressed with a sense of the importance of an immediate attention to these objects, do hereby engage, under the restrictions and provisions hereafter mentioned, to make the following advancements, viz. The said inhabitants agree to give to the trustees of the grammar school, for the county of Caledonia, the full and just sum of one thousand dollars, payable in materials, for erecting a building for the accomodation of students; they also agree to give to the said trustees a number of acres of ground sufficient for the purpose of said building, and a decent green; they moreover agree to give to the trustees an annual sum, for three years, sufficient to maintain a preceptor; lastly the inhabitants agree to give to the trustees that right of land, which, by the charter of said town, was granted to "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," provided the said trustees shall be immediately appointed, and incorporated by the General Assembly, with full powers to hold and lease the lands so that the said school shall be for ever established in the town of Peacham; and after stating the eligibility of that town from its local situation, and the accomodation of students, praying said school to be established in said town, which if granted, good and sufficient assurances are to be made by said inhabitants for the fulfilment of the above engagements.

Made Report

That, in their opinion, the prayers thereof ought to be granted, and that the petitioners have leave to bring in a bill accordingly.[1]

The foregoing communication is of special import in that for the first time the attention of the legislature was specifically called to the obligations of support involved in Vermont township charters.[2] The sincerity of spirit of the inhabitants of Peacham, and the generosity of their proposals, evidently made a distinct impression on this body, for the legislative records on the matter are more elaborate than usual. It appears, however, that the committee to which the town's memorial was referred was at first puzzled as to what action was proper concerning this unprecedented assignment of lands, for it made the following report:

1. *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1795, p. 87.

2. The geographical location of Peacham had something to do with its application for grammar-school lands. The five schools previously incorporated were located well to the south of the state, where there were few Vermont-granted townships.

That, from an examination of the charters, in which particular rights of land were granted for the purposes contemplated in said bills, it appears, that the said rights were to be appropriated to the county grammar schools *in*, or which *might* be *within* the state, without confining the rights to the several counties in which they lie; and therefore suggested to the House, whether or not it will be expedient to pass said bills, till the sense of the Legislature shall be known on the construction of said grants.[1]

The decision of the legislature on this point was written into the charter granted to the Caledonia County Grammar School on October 27, 1795. The trustees were given "full power to hold and lease the lands lying in said county, already granted for that purpose," but the proviso was added "that this act shall not be construed to give to the county grammar school for the county of Caledonia a right to any more than an equal proportion (with other counties in this state) of the neat (sic) proceeds or avails of the lands granted for the use of county grammar schools in said state, whenever a future legislature shall, by a law for that purpose order a dividend of the same."

The memorial of the inhabitants of Peacham was in substance an agreement to fulfill certain promises. In granting the charter, the legislature accepted the terms of the proposal, and in the following proviso entered into a virtual contract with the citizens of the town:

"That if the inhabitants of said town of Peacham shall not, at the first meeting of said trustees, or at some proper time by them appointed, make out and execute to the said trustees, good and sufficient assurances for the payment of all such sums of money, or other property, as they the said inhabitants have proposed to donate to said institution, agreeably to the true intent and meaning of their memorial herein before mentioned, then the said inhabitants shall forfeit all right to the benefits and privileges granted, or intended to be granted by this act; anything therein to the contrary notwithstanding."[2]

Little additional legislation on secondary education was passed between the time that a charter was granted to the Caledonia County school and the close of the century. Two more county grammar schools were incorporated, one at Middlebury in Addison County (1797) and one at St. Albans in Franklin County (1799). At the same time that the inhabitants of Middlebury petitioned for a school, a similar petition was made by Amos Marsh, in behalf of the citizens

1. *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1795, p. 152.
2. *Acts and Laws*, 1795, p. 29.

of Vergennes, praying that the Addison county school be established in that town. In recommending that the school be located in Middlebury, the legislative committee presented the following opinion:

"That, if it is the opinion of the legislature, that only one grammar school be established in the county of Addison it ought to be established in the town of Middlebury."[1] A similar situation existed in the case of the Franklin County Grammar School. It will be seen that the demands of enterprising communities within a single county were later so pressing that the original policy of one school to a county was not always carried out.

The act incorporating the Addison County Grammar School[2] contains the following proviso:

"that the inhabitants of Middlebury, and such others as may voluntarily subscribe therefor, shall build and furnish a good and sufficient house for said Grammar School, of the value of one thousand dollars, by the next stated session of the legislature, and shall forever after keep the same in good repair."

A similar condition was imposed in the case of the Franklin County Grammar School. In this case the inhabitants of St. Albans were required to build and furnish an eight hundred dollar school within two years. The inhabitants of St. Albans were in earnest about establishing a school, but lacked the immediate means. In October, 1800, the legislature permitted them to lay "a tax of eight cents on each acre of land in said town . . . for the purpose of erecting and compleating said buildings," and at the same session tabled a petition for the inhabitants of Newbury, who also desired the county school.[3] By imposing such conditions and restraints, the legislature promoted and controlled the establishment of new institutions.

In the case of the Addison County Grammar School we find the legislature for the first time exempting from taxation the real and personal estate belonging to a county school, and exempting both instructors and students from taxation and from military service. This exemption clause is found in practically all the charters issued during the early part of the nineteenth century. The following powers were also granted to the corporation of the school at Middlebury:

> And the said corporation . . . shall have full power to take by gift, grant,

1. *Journal of the General Assembly*, 1797, p. 228.
2. *Acts and Laws*, 1797, pp. 36-38.
3. *Journal of the General Assembly*, 1800, p. 96 and p. 164.

purchase, or devise, any estate, either real, or personal, for the use of said grammar school; and to take charge of, lease, rent, and improve to the best advantage, all such grants, as have been already made within said county of Addison, by the authority of this state, for the use and benefit of grammar schools; and also to receive and appropriate all such donations, as have been, or hereafter shall be made, for the use of the said institution; and by themselves or their attornies, to institute, maintain and defend, any suit, or suits, which may, or shall be sued, prosecuted, or impleaded, either in law or equity, for the recovery or defence of any of the rights, or property of the said institution, as they shall find necessary; and also to appoint, elect, support and remove, from time to time, all such instructors as they shall find necessary.[1]

Legislation affecting secondary schools before 1800 may be summarized as follows:

1777 County grammar schools authorized
1779 Grammar school lands first set aside in township charters
1780 Clio Hall incorporated (first secondary school)
1782 Judges of county courts authorized to appoint trustees of county schools. Judges of county courts authorized to lay taxes on counties to build school-houses
1785 First county grammar school established (Windsor county)
1786 Constitution recommended that one or more grammar schools be incorporated and properly supported in each county
1787 Trustees to be appointed by county court judges. Affirmation of Act of 1782 (tax clause eliminated)
1787 Rutland County Grammar School established
1791 Athens Grammar School incorporated
1792 Cavendish Academy incorporated
1793 Recommendation in Constitution of 1786 reaffirmed
1795 Caledonia County Grammar School incorporated. Income from lands in county and other privileges granted to school. (First county grammar school actually incorporated)
1797 Trustees to be appointed by county court judges (affirmation of Act of 1787)
1797 Addison County Grammar School incorporated (Privileges)
1799 Franklin County Grammar School incorporated (Privileges)

From such legislation and other records of the period emerge three general tendencies in educational practice:

1. Though it was the original plan to make the county the unit for the control and support of the state's system of grammar schools,

1. *Acts and Laws*, 1797, p. 37. It was also prescribed that the number of trustees should not exceed 12.

the actual establishment of such schools became under the pressure of circumstance a function of the individual towns. It was the desire of such towns for institutions to supplement the training in the common schools which, in the absence of state action, furnished the initial impulse for the establishment of academies and county grammar schools. This desire found expression in town-meetings or gatherings of prominent citizens. The modus operandi was for such individuals, acting often in conjunction with the town's representative in the legislature, to petition this body for the right to found such a school. These interested men, with others whom they might select as associates, were then charged with the trusteeship over the new institution. The principle of county support of county grammar schools, established in 1782, was nullified in 1787, and though the principle of county control was theoretically retained, in actual practice control as well as support had passed by this time from the county to the town. No instances are revealed in which the trustees of county schools were actually appointed by the judges of county courts. It was also the initiative of the town rather than the county or state which often determined where the county grammar schools were to be located. The statement of the first state superintendent of education that "the state has committed to the 241 democratic republics within its borders the direct care for the establishment and maintenance of its common schools"[1] could be applied as well to Vermont's secondary schools at the beginning of their history. The function of the state soon became one of approval (and occasional disapproval); except in the occasional administration of county school land funds, the function of the county was non-existent. It was simply an area of location.

2. A correlate of this shift from county to town administration was the change in character of the county grammar schools from a public to a private basis. The public character of such schools was implied in the county plan first formulated in 1777. Public (county) control was definitely indicated in the acts of 1782, 1787 and 1797, and again as late as 1845.[2] However, as the county plan was proving itself unworkable, the county schools assumed a different character. The status of the first two established was not defined: but the

1. *Twenty-Fourth Vermont School Report*, pp. 15-20.

2. In 1845 the office of county superintendent of schools was created, the appointment to be made by the county courts, but the law was of short duration. (See *Twenty-Fourth Vermont School Report*, pp. 15-20.)

constitution of 1786 prescribed that county schools should be incorporated, and the charter of the third county school (at Peacham) was a precise statement of the privileges and obligations of a corporation. Though the control of the first two county schools (those at Norwich and Castleton) was probably in public hands, that of the third was definitely entrusted to a corporate body.

It is well to note, however, that these schools were then, and continued to remain, public institutions in many respects. Popular will was behind their inception; popular effort contributed to their establishment; popular interest sustained them; their boards of trustees were representative, public-spirited citizens whose aim was the public welfare.

3. The tendency was also noticeable to distinguish between these county schools and the academies. No hesitation is apparent in legislative action regarding the latter schools, about which nothing was said in the constitutions of 1777 or 1786, and to the welfare of which, therefore, the legislature was not committed. Clio Hall was definitely incorporated as a private institution, though the reservation in its charter regarding future location indicated that it may have been the intention of the state to fit this school later into the county grammar school scheme. Athens and Cavendish grammar schools were also promptly incorporated as private schools. These schools were referred to as "scholastic societies," and obviously were not considered as integral factors in the system then being projected. It was clearly the policy, however, to encourage learning, and privately founded schools throughout the state were readily furnished with charter rights on application. Nevertheless, at the end of the century the sole distinguishing feature between the two types of schools lay in the support accruing to the county schools from township lands. In other respects they were both privately supported and privately controlled institutions, free from county or state interference and able to develop as independent organizations.

The establishment and maintenance of academies and grammar schools were not easy tasks for these young communities to assume, and the literature of Vermont is filled with accounts of the sacrifices and hardships which were the inevitable accompaniment of unreliable support. From the outset such schools assumed the closest relationships with the towns, but were often unable to obtain the patronage necessary to maintain satisfactory standards of instruction, and only

infrequently benefited from land incomes or private munificence. The individual cases presented in this and succeeding chapters illustrate how difficult it was to found and develop educational institutions under limited resources. Their histories often appear as continuous struggles for survival.

Clio Hall

Bennington was among the first towns settled in Vermont. Its charter (1749) was the first granted by Benning Wentworth, after whom the town was named. The inhabitants early manifested an interest in school affairs. On Jan. 19, 1763, it was voted "to send a petition to the general court of the province of New Hampshire to raise a tax on all the lands in Bennington, resident and non-resident, to build a meeting-house and a school-house and mills, and for highways and a bridge."[1] Later in the year twelve pounds were raised for the schools and "divided into three parts equally." At the same time it was voted "that each district was to build their schoolhouses at their own cost."

The early history of the town reveals that the inhabitants were of energetic and ambitious stock, among whom were not a few exceptionally gifted individuals. Two years before the close of the Revolution a Literary Society had been organized, which met frequently and discussed topics of mutual interest in the fields of science and philosophy.

It is not surprising that in such a thriving community, where at an early period such interest had been shown in education and culture, a demand would soon arise for a school with advanced educational opportunities. At the same time one must admire the sturdy idealism which projected an institution of learning at a time when the internal affairs of the Green Mountain republic were in such a chaotic condition, when disaster threatened and warfare was rife. The project was apparently the outgrowth solely of local sentiment.[2]

1. Jennings: *Memorials of a Century*, p. 336.

2. Dummer Academy at South Byfield (Mass.) had operated since 1763, and Phillips Academy at Andover since 1778, but there is no evidence that these schools inspired the establishment of Clio Hall, or served as models for its general character. Phillips Academy, the first chartered academy in Massachusetts, was incorporated only one month before Clio Hall; and Phillips Exeter, the first incorporated academy in New Hampshire, did not receive its

Following is the "Act to make the Trustees of Clio-Hall[1] a Body Politic and Corporate in Law:"

Whereas a Number of Persons for the laudable Purpose of promoting Literature, have entered into a voluntary Association and Subscription for erecting a Seminary of Learning in this State, to be kept for the Time being at Bennington, but afterwards at such Place as the Legislature shall direct, to be called and known by the Name of Clio-Hall, and have appointed a Board of Trust for the well managing its Police & Government:—And whereas said Board of Trust have petitioned this Assembly that they and their Successors in Office, may hereafter be known and acknowledged in Law to all Intents and Purposes as a Body Politic and Corporate, by the Name of the Trustees of Clio-Hall.

Therefore,

Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by Representatives of the Freemen of the State of Vermont, in General Assembly met, and by the Authority of the same, that Thomas Chittenden, Esquire, Governor, Timothy Dwight, M. A. the Rev. David Avery, Isaac Tichenor, Esq: the Hon. Moses Robinson, Esq: the Hon. Jonas Fay, Esq: Ezra Styles, jun., Esq: Stephen Row Bradley, Esq: the Rev. Mr. Daniel Collins, Col. Benjamin Simonds, Bela Turner, Esq; and Thomas Porter, Esq; constituted a Board of Trust for Clio-Hall, be, and they are hereby for themselves and Successors in Office, created a body Politic and Corporate, to be known and acknowledged in Law, to all Intents and Purposes, and called the Trustees of Clio-Hall.[2]

Just when the school opened and who was its first preceptor are not definitely known.[3] Vermont and Bennington histories contain the most meagre references to the school. Its career, up to the time when the building was burned in 1803, may be sketched, however, from occasional references to the school in the files of the "Vermont Gazette," the earliest permanently-established news sheet in the state.

On May 9, 1785, an Ebenezer Hall advertised in this paper a school "where he proposes to teach the Latin, Greek and English Languages together with other arts, commonly taught in Grammar-

charter till a year later. Dartmouth College had been founded in 1769, and may have acted as a spur to the organization of such a classical school as Clio Hall was intended to be.

1. In classical mythology, Clio was the muse of history. The use of the name reflects the interest of the founders of the school in classical learning.

2. *Statutes of Vermont, March and October Sessions*, 1780. Printed from original manuscript for the Burlington Book Company, 1896. See also *State Papers of Vermont*, Vol. III, Bellows Falls, 1924, p. 150. The reference is to the Assembly Journal for Friday, Nov^{r} 3^{d}, 1780.

3. *Vermont Gazette*, Vol. V, No. 25. The notice for Nov. 19, 1787 contains the statement that "the academy was erected in the year 1782."

Schools."[1] No reference is made to Clio Hall, and it is probable this was a private venture.

Levi Hackley also kept a grammar school in Bennington about the same time, for in the "Gazette" for May 22, 1786, the announcement is made that "On Thursday last the Scholars of the English and Latin schools, under the care of Mr. Levi Hackley, entertained a numerous and respectable audience at the Court House. A number of declamations were spoken . . . the elegance of which did honor to the taste of Mr. Hackley."[2]

The first reference to Clio Hall is found in the issue of Nov. 20, 1786, and reads as follows:

> Thursday the 30th instant, is appointed by authority to be observed as a day of Public Thanksgiving and Praise throughout this State.
>
> This day the Grammar School was opened at Clio Hall in this town, to the great satisfaction of every friend to literature among us. As a sum of money is now funding sufficient to afford a generous price to a gentleman of abilities and liberal education to take charge of the school; it is presumed this infant seminary will deservedly attract the notice of the friends of learning in these parts, and induce them to attend to the school on the most liberal terms.
>
> Clio, (neglected for a term of years)
> With bright'ning aspect, wipes away her tears;
> Long may her trustees proper homage pay
> To all her charms, and keep them from decay.[3]

The verse intimates that although the school may have opened for instruction soon after it was chartered, it soon encountered difficulties and had to close its doors. During the term of its discontinuance the demand for advanced instruction was probably satisfied by such schools as those of Mr. Hall and Mr. Hackley.

The issue of May 28, 1787 indicates that the stated sum of money had been funded and "a gentleman of abilities and liberal education" hired:

> On the 16th instant, the students at the Academy in this town, under the tuition of Mr. Amos A. Marsh, A. B. passed examination before the Trustees of the Institution, who were so highly pleased with the literary abilities of the young gentlemen, that they were honored with the public thanks of the board, and the approbation of many respectable characters who attended on the occasion. In the after part of the day, before a very respectable number of gentlemen and ladies of this and the neighboring towns, they severally acquitted

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 101.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 155.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 181.

themselves in the various branches of public speaking to the universal satisfaction of the auditory.

A correspondent observes, that the ease and propriety of behaviour which was conspicuous in the young gentlemen, at their examination and public exhibition, must be pleasing to their parents, and in particular add to the credit and reputation of the gentleman to whose immediate instruction they are indebted for those necessary acquirements.[1]

In the summer of 1787, a celebration was held commemorating the tenth anniversary of the battle of Bennington. A procession was held in which, with other groups, were "the President and Fellows of the Philosophical Circle of Science, then the President and Trustees of Clio Hall, then the Rector and Students of Clio Hall." The "Gazette" notices the quarterly examination of the scholars, which was part of the celebration:

"Mr. Marsh, Rector of Clio Hall, then proceeded on the quarterly examination of his scholars, who, through the whole day performed greatly to their own credit, the honor of their tutor, and the satisfaction of a numerous and polite audience."[2]

Considerable data on the aims, methods of support and organization of the school are given in the interesting and comprehensive article in the issue for Nov. 19, 1787:

The Academy erected, some years since, in the town of Bennington, by the generous donations of a number of friends to Literature, and which, for a long time has not received the attention due to an institution founded on so liberal a plan, and designed for such extensive usefulness; we are happy to inform the public is now placed on a respectable footing.

The following gentlemen from a desire of promoting the arts and sciences,

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, No. 208. The notice is of interest in its indication of the method by which the preceptor was selected. Amos Marsh shares with Rev. Oliver Hurlburt of the county school at Castleton and Ashur Hatch of the county school at Norwich the distinction of being the first known preceptors in the academic history of Vermont. Mr. Marsh remained as principal until 1789 or 1790, when Samuel Dwight took charge. From then on his career is veiled. From 1796 to 1801 a Mr. Amos Marsh was a member of the General Assembly of Vermont, representing the "city" of Vergennes (in 1798, the "city" of Vergennes and Waltham). That this was the same gentleman who taught at Bennington is quite probable; as representative of Vergennes he was at least interested in educational affairs, for in 1797, on behalf of the inhabitants of that town, he petitioned the General Assembly that the grammar school for the county of Addison be established in Vergennes. (*Journal of the General Assembly*, 1797, p. 155.)

2. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1787.

have freely granted to the board of trustees the several sums annexed to their names. (Follow the names of thirty-seven persons contributing from £10 to £65, a total of £985.)

Which are to remain as a perpetual fund, the interest only to be applied to the use of the academy. By the friendly assistance of the worthy gentlemen, the trustees have been encouraged, and in some measure enabled to prosecute the original design of the first promoters of this institution; which was to advance literature, and promote refinement in this northern world, on the most liberal plan. For this purpose the academy was erected in the year 1782, & committed to the charge of a board of trustees, to the number of twelve, who have since received a charter of incorporation, investing them with such powers as are requisite to carry the original design into execution. The trustees in order to satisfy the expectations of the public, have gone to the extent of their abilities, in endeavoring to establish this institution as a perpetually free seminary. Notwithstanding they have it to lament that their funds are in some measure inadequate: On this account they are under the necessity of soliciting the aid of all friends of science, that they lend an assisting hand in promoting so laudable a design.

The academy is now open for the admission of young gentlemen who wish to be instructed in the several branches of literature usually taught in the several academies in America.

Mr. Amos Marsh, a gentleman of approved abilities, has the immediate charge of the school as preceptor. Twenty shillings will be exacted from each person at the time of entrance. Nothing more will be exacted for tuition, let the continuance be for any period of time whatever. We can therefore recommend this institution to the public, as one, in which all parents and guardians, who wish to educate their children, will find their wishes and expectations answered with the smallest expense.

The greatest attention will be paid to the morals of young gentlemen, and while their tender minds are led forward in the paths of science, we trust that external accomplishments will not wholly be neglected.

We have found it necessary for the benefit and conveniency of the school, to fix the times for admitting scholars, which are as follows. From the first Tuesday in September until the first Tuesday in October. From the second Tuesday in January until the last Tuesday of the same month; from the last Tuesday in April until the last Tuesday in May. The stated examinations and public examinations and public exhibitions, are on the first Tuesday in September, second Tuesday in January, and on the last Tuesday in April. The vacations are two weeks in the fall and two weeks in the spring, beginning on the first Tuesday in September and the last Tuesday in April.

By Order of the Trustees,
Isaac Tichenor, Secretary.[1]

Evidently the academy was originally designed to be a free school for the advanced instruction of young men. Nevertheless, the prob-

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, No. 25.

lem of adequate financial support had become pressing, and in spite of the extent and liberality of the endowment fund (a token of the great local interest in the enterprise), the announcement reveals the necessity of instituting a type of tuition charge.

The following January the "Gazette" notes "great improvements":

> On Tuesday last came on the quarterly exhibitions of Clio Hall. After a strict examination by the Trustees and the instructors which was past greatly to the honor of the students, they removed to the state house, where the scholars exhibited, to a respectable audience, a number of well chosen pieces, which they performed in such a manner, as fully evinces that great improvements are made in the academy.[1]

The following notification or advertisement, dated August 2, 1790, and inserted in three successive issues of the "Gazette," indicates that a Samuel Dwight had replaced Amos Marsh as rector of the school. It has interest for the information it gives on the course of study:

> The Subscriber
>
> Under direction of the Trustees of Clio Hall
>
> In Bennington
>
> Hereby notifies to the public;
>
> That the said academy is opened for the reception of youth; where will be taught the Greek and Latin languages, logic, natural and moral philosophy, geography, arithmetic, English grammar, writing, and all other branches which are usually taught in academies. The greatest attention will be paid to scholars.
>
> Samuel Dwight.
>
> August 2, 1790.[2]

Sometime within the next five years the academy ceased to operate, for on July 10, 1795, Mr. Hackley informs "those whom it may concern that he proposes opening a school again at the Academy on Monday next."[3] Apparently this teacher had conducted his school somewhere else after vacating the academy building in 1786, for he "earnestly requests all those whose accounts for schooling remain unsettled, to call immediately and settle them."[4] His terms were nine shillings per quarter.

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, No. 33, Jan. 14, 1788.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 10.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 7.
4. *Ibid.*

The succeeding year finds still another school occupying the Academy building. On Oct. 21, 1796, Andrew Selden notifies the people of the Middle District in Bennington of the opening of a school for the instruction of youth in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar.[1] Whether or not this was the "select school" mentioned by Robinson[2] as having been conducted in 1796 and 1797, it is not possible to affirm. That there was an Academy in Bennington in 1797 is indicated by Graham's report of his visit there in that year.[3] The academy building was destroyed by fire in 1803.

The "Gazette" extracts suggest that the course of secondary education in Bennington was a precarious one. Clio Hall apparently enjoyed its heyday in the four years 1787-90. In view of the obvious interest attached to its establishment and emphasized later by the generous contributions to its support, it is difficult to explain the brevity of its period of service. Competition from the Hackley school possibly had something to do with it. At any rate, there seems to have been no provision again for secondary education until Union Academy, in the east village, was incorporated in 1816.

Rutland County Grammar School

This institution, established as a county school in Castleton under an act of legislature in October, 1787, had its origin in what was known as the Gambrel-roof School-house, which had been erected a year previous by popular subscription. The name was changed in 1828 to "Vermont Classical Seminary," but late in 1830 the former title was restored; the school was often known simply as Castleton Seminary or Castleton Academy. From the time that the school was first opened in 1786 until it was merged with the Castleton State Normal School in 1867, its educational service was practically without interruption. So strong were the forces of tradition that even then the trustees hesitated to transfer the Seminary property, and for nine years the Seminary and Normal school ran under one roof and were conducted by one head. Reference to the school will repeat-

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, No. 23. See Jennings for "personal notice" of Andrew Selden. (Jennings: *Memorials of a Century*, p. 323.) Jennings states that Selden did not come to Bennington until 1797.

2. *Bennington Souvenir*, p. 12.

3. Graham: *Letters to the Duke of Montrose*, p. 32.

edly be made in later chapters: a brief review of its history will suffice at this point.

The first school house was built with money raised by two subscriptions. One list contained the larger subscriptions, the other "the smaller, but not less consecrated . . . offerings. The deficiency of money raised to purchase the land and complete the institution was made up in small donations by private individuals." Rev. Oliver Hurlburt, about whom there seems to be little information, is credited with being its preceptor from 1786 until June, 1800.

The school was fortunate in securing several able preceptors in the early decades of its existence. It was favorably located on main travel routes and developed a degree of prosperity at an early period. In 1829-30, one of the town's chief citizens, Arunah W. Hyde, who was deeply interested in the prosperity of the town, came to the assistance of Solomon Foot in the latter's project of erecting a new school building, and completed the structure "at a cost of more than thirty thousand dollars."[1] This new institution was chartered as the Vermont Classical Seminary and represented the first attempt to provide advanced educational facilities on a large scale.[2] The Seminary structure was thus described:

> the building . . . is 160 feet in length, and 40 in breadth . . . is three stories high. . . . The basement contains a large dining hall, kitchens, washrooms, domestics' rooms, etc. In the second story are professors' rooms, a laboratory, chapel, a public school room, four private recitation rooms, a library and business room. The two upper stories contain instructors' rooms, and fifty dormitories, exclusive of a closet; which are provided with stoves, beds, tables, desks, chairs, etc. To the building is attached a play-ground of about six acres, a part of which is to be devoted to a garden.[3]

An analysis of the catalogues first issued in 1826 and printed almost continuously until 1873 shows that the school was well attended during that half-century period. Before 1830 the proportion of young ladies to young gentlemen seems to have been small; but after the new seminary was constructed, this proportion gradually increased

1. *Report of the Proceedings Commemorating the One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of a Chartered School Known . . . as The Rutland County Grammar School* . . . 1787-1887. Rutland, 1888. Biographical sketch of A. W. Hyde, p. 93.

2. Captain Partridge's academy at Norwich excepted.

3. Sprague: *A Discourse Delivered at Castleton*, May 27, 1830, at the Opening of the Vermont Classical Seminary. Prospectus of school, cover page.

until 1846, when the ladies outnumbered the gentlemen. From this date on, young women attended the school in greater numbers than the boys, the ratio at times being as large as 3 to 1. Harriet N. Haskell, one of the earliest women principals in the history of the Vermont academies, accepted the charge of Castleton Seminary in 1862, where she served for five years.

Addison County Grammar School

The town of Middlebury, in the county of Addison, has a unique educational history. Within a period of two years and a half, the inhabitants established a county grammar school, a female seminary and a college. The act incorporating the Addison County Grammar School was passed Nov. 8, 1797. Miss Ida Strong opened her school "for the instruction of young Ladies in the various branches of Female Education" on April 21, 1800.[1] Steps to establish a college were first taken in 1798, the charter was granted November 1, 1800, and students were admitted to the institution a few days later.

The conditions imposed on the citizens regarding the erection of a "sufficient" building for a grammar school were promptly met. "The inhabitants . . . did not limit their expenditures to one thousand dollars. The design was already formed to establish a college, and provide a building, which would accomodate such an institution, at least for a time. Accordingly a subscription was raised in this and neighboring towns."[2] The subscription list contained eighty-nine names, and $4150 was raised, over four times the amount specified. "The wooden building since used for the college, eighty feet by forty, and three stories high, was completed in 1798. . . . It was divided into convenient rooms for students, with a public room for a chapel, and other uses, in the centre of the upper story."[3]

In 1799, Jeremiah Atwater of New Haven, Conn., was elected preceptor of the school, which office he held until August, 1805. When the college was opened in 1800, he became its president, and the duties of instruction at the grammar school were assigned to a "tutor or other officer of the college." With the death of Miss Strong in 1804, the female seminary was temporarily discontinued.

1. *Vergennes Gazette and Vermont and New York Advertiser*, Vol. II, No. 85, April, 1800.
2. Swift: *History of the Town of Middlebury*, p. 372.
3. *Ibid.*

The grammar school moved into the vacated building which had been erected for the seminary by popular subscription in 1803, and the college and grammar school became distinct institutions.

The following laws of the Addison County Grammar School were "compiled" by Chester Wright, who succeeded Mr. Atwater as preceptor:[1]

1. Instruction shall be afforded in this Academy in the several branches of reading, writing, English Grammar, the Latin and Greek languages, rhetoric, composition, arithmetic, geography, history, surveying and navigation.

2. The Academy shall be visited in the middle and at the end of each term by a committee of literary gentlemen appointed for that purpose.

3. Public examinations shall be holden at the close of each term, and premiums be adjudged to the best proficients in the several branches of study by the literary gentlemen who shall attend.

4. The terms of tuition shall be three dollars per quarter yearly, payment to be made quarterly, and each scholar shall advance one dollar and fifty cents.

5. No scholar shall be admitted but such as are able to read English well.

6. Every member shall be required to pay due respect to the authority of the College and to the preceptor of the Academy, and to observe those tokens of civility towards all people, at all times, as are suitable and becoming; and shall also, at all times, submit to the regulations adopted by the preceptor relative to behaviour and literary pursuits, such regulations being always subject to the inspection and controul of the Trustees.

7. The scholars shall attend punctually at the Academy during study hours, which shall always be at least six in a day. The time of beginning and ending, also of the duration of the intermission to be regulated by the preceptor. And for the greater convenience of attending recitations, the preceptor may require those who are studying the Latin and Greek languages, and such others, as he shall think proper, to attend at an earlier hour, and to continue later than the school in general at such times, as he shall judge most conducive to the improvement, and to the general utility of the school.

8. Every Wednesday afternoon shall be employed principally in reading and speaking in the chapel.

9. The members of the Academy shall be required to attend public worship on the Sabbath, and shall be accountable to the preceptor for non attendance.

10. No scholar shall be charged less than one dollar and fifty cents in each quarter bill, unless prevented by sickness from attending school.

11. Every scholar who is not an inhabitant of this village shall, previous to admission into the Academy produce from the treasurer a receipt of one dollar and fifty cents in advance for tuition.

12. All injuries done to the buildings shall be charged in the quarter bill to the person doing them, if such persons be known and if not, they shall be apportioned to the whole school.

13. If any Scholar shall willfully disobey the order of the Preceptor, or

1. Records of Addison County Grammar School. (Ms.)

treat him with disrespect, or shall wantonly abuse any member of the school intentionally injure the building or any of the property of the scholars, or be guilty of any gross immorality, or violation of decency and decorum, either at school or at any other place in the village, the Preceptor shall have power to inflict any reasonable punishment, at his discretion, giving always a preference to punishments addressed to the honours of scholars, so far as they shall be found efficacious: such as public admonition in the chapel, or any other censure, or mark of disapprobation proportioned to the nature and aggravation of the offence. . . . And if any scholar, by a frequent repetition of any of the above mentioned . . .(?) and irregularities shall become a nuisance to the Academy, and will not be reclaimed by any suitable punishment inflicted by the Preceptor, after repeated trials, such scholar shall be expelled. But an expulsion shall never take place, without the concurrence of the Authority of College, who shall in all such cases be requested to attend and give their opinion.

14. No scholar shall remain at the school house, during the intermission, without the permission of the Preceptor.

15. The first term of the Academy shall commence in three weeks from the Monday preceding commencement, and continue twelve weeks, succeeded by a vacation of one week. After which, the second term consisting also of twelve weeks shall commence, at the end of which there shall be a vacation of one week succeeded by the third term consisting of eleven weeks, after which there shall be a vacation of one week, and from thence the fourth term shall continue till commencement.

16. Every scholar remaining in school till within ten days of the end of the term, shall be charged to the end; cases of sickness excepted.

Passed and established, March 12, 1806

Seth Storrs
Samuel Miller
Darius Matthews } Trustees
Daniel Chipman
Gamaliel Painter

A true record of the original manuscript, under the signature of the above named Trustees,

Seth Storrs, Reg^{r}

The records show that much of the attention of the trustees was devoted to the problems of hiring preceptors, leasing lands and collecting rents, and making necessary repairs to the building. In this school, as in most of the other academies and grammar schools of that period, instructors came and went in rapid succession. Teaching was far from being professionalized and was generally used as a convenient stepping-stone to one of the established professions. From 1805 to 1853 there were 32 preceptors of the Addison county school. Of this number, 23 were ministers.

At a meeting held January 1, 1828, it was "resolved that it is expedient immediately to adopt measures to raise the reputation and extend the usefulness of the School under our care—giving it at once the character of a Classical Academy and of a High English School."[1] The preceptor's salary was to be handled in the following manner:

Resolved that the Principal shall receive all the income arising from Tuition; provided that with the advice of the Prudential Committee he shall employ suitable assistant instructors, when necessary, and pay such assistants & also pay the expence of warming the house and of said tuition. And whereas the numbers of scholars may not be sufficient, at first to afford a competent salary, therefore

Resolved, That this Board guarantee to said Principal an income of at least four hundred & fifty dollars annually engaging to make up to him the deficiency, if the Tuition Bills, after paying the incidental expences for warming the house and providing such Assistant Instructors as the Prudential Committee shall approve, should fall short of that sum.[2]

The board had difficulty in hiring a permanent instructor, however, and considered getting some one for part time. Finally Gilbert Thompson was engaged for one year under this contract:

Mr. Thompson is to receive all the Tuition Bills, is to furnish fuel, etc; is to save the Trustees from expense for repairs such as glass etc; except where it shall be ascertained that the injury accruing to the academy building was received from persons not belonging to the Academy, or in the course of divine providence, such as by hail, etc; and provided that Mr. Thompson shall not be subject to personal expense for damages to an amount exceeding ten dollars.[3]

The following entry is made under date of Jan. 16, 1838:

The Committee appointed to confer with Preceptor Warner reported that in consideration of the unusually small number of scholars in the academy the present quarter fifty dollars ought to be added to his salary, which report was accepted.

In 1844, the sum of $100 and "comfortable and respectable provision" were offered to a Mr. Bascom to take charge of the Academy.

A revision in the laws of the school was made April 1, 1828. Nine years was made the entrance age. The studies were divided into three distinct departments:

1. Records, *op. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1828.
3. *Ibid.*

The First embracing common English studies such as Reading, Writing, Spelling, Arithmetic, Geography & English Grammar.

The Second, The Latin & Greek languages, with all collateral branches, a knowledge of which is necessary for admission to college.

The Third, Those studies, such as Logick, & Rhetorick, Natural, Moral & Intellectual Philosophy, Algebra, Geometry; Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation & Astronomy; and under this head may be included the study of the French Language.[1]

The students in each of these departments were to be arranged in classes at the principal's discretion. Three dollars was made the tuition charge for common English studies, and four dollars for those preparing for college or "pursuing the study of higher branches of Mathematics and other extra branches of science." No additional charges of any kind were to be made except when damage was done.

Recitations and study-hours were to be conducted according to this plan:

. . . . . .

2. Each scholar shall recite twice every day, in the studies, and with the class designated by the Principal.

3. There shall be a recitation every Monday morning, of some portion of the Scriptures, Biblical History, Evidences of Christianity, or of some work designed for moral & religious improvement, which recitation shall be attended by every member of the school.

4. A portion of time shall be appropriated each week to the exercise of writing; to which all in the common English Branches & individuals in the other departments who may be designated by the Principal shall attend . . .

5. Every Wednesday afternoon shall be appropriated to exercises in Reading, Declamation & Composition.

6. There shall be a regular list of Class Books to be used in the several departments, designated by the principal with the approbation of the Prudential Committee; and no other books shall be used at the recitations.

7. The study hours shall be prescribed by the Principal with the advice of the Prudential Committee and shall consist of at least six hours a day.[2]

Students were not allowed to enter the academy building out of study hours without permission. Permission also was required before a student could leave town. A "publick" examination was to be held at the end of every quarter, which every member of the school was required to attend.

Chapter Three of the 1828 laws relates to Religious Exercises and

1. *Op. cit.*, April 1, 1828.
2. *Ibid.*

Publick Worship. School was to be opened and closed by scriptures and prayer. Worship was compulsory on the Sabbath and on "days appointed by the civil authority for Fasting and Thanksgiving; at the place designated by himself, if over twenty-one years of age, or by his parent or guardian if under that age."

. . . . . .

Period 1800-1820

Developments in Legislative Policy. Rise of the Private Academy

By 1800 the essentials of a settled educational policy had become apparent. Charter privileges had assumed a degree of liberality. School incomes up to $500, as well as real and personal estate, had been exempted from taxation, and instructors and students from taxation and military duty. The principle had been established that if there were grammar school lands in a county, they could be assigned to the institution properly designated as a county grammar school. By granting a charter to a school, the legislature also endowed it with such advantages as accompanied official recognition; the educational impulses of the community were also quickened, especially in those cases in which a town had been given preference as a site for a county school. Participation in the affairs of the school ended, however, with the granting of the charter; the actual means by which a schoolhouse might be built, instructors paid, and bills for upkeep met had not been provided for. This situation did not materially change in the period under consideration.

. . . . . .

With the abandonment of the policy of one county grammar school to a county and the application of many academies for county school rights, the legislature was soon faced with the problem of the impartial division of grammar school lands. This period witnesses the beginning of legislation affecting the appropriation and assignment of such sources of revenue. With the settlement of new townships in the central and northern areas of Vermont, the grammar school rights were beginning to produce a small income, and it was generally believed that they represented an important asset to school support. As a matter of fact, though the rentals were at first

small, the resources of the early schools were so restricted that any extra income was welcome, and the withdrawal of part of that income so that other institutions might benefit was a deprivation which was energetically contested. When the inhabitants of Royalton petitioned for a grammar school charter in 1807, they requested the "rents and profits" of all or part of the lands in Windsor county. The incorporating act gave to this school "the Grammar School in Bethel, and the Grammar School right in Rochester, except the second division lot." The rents and profits from the rest of the lands in this county were appropriated to the use of the Windsor County Grammar School. In 1809, the Franklin county lands were divided between St. Albans and Fairfield. In 1813, the trustees of Montpelier Academy, with a view to obtaining the rentals from lands in Jefferson (afterward Washington) county, applied for and received a charter under the name of Jefferson (afterward Washington) County Grammar School.

In the first quarter of the century, the subject of education began to be noticed for the first time in the annual messages of the governors of the state. In 1800, Governor Tichenor gave some consideration to the "value of science."[1] In 1814, Governor Chittenden reported that "Our schools and seminaries of learning have not suffered that diminution and depression which might have been expected (i.e., from the War of 1812) excepting, that it has been deemed advisable, that the operations of one nearest the seat of war should suffer a temporary suspension, that, at a future and more favorable period, they might be renewed, under better prospects and with increased vigor and energy."[2] In 1821, Governor Skinner devoted some attention to the value of a general diffusion of useful knowledge, and the relation of an improved state of science to the security of civil and religious liberty.[3] An extended comment on the values of advanced learning, occasioned in particular by the educational contributions of Capt. Alden Partridge and the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy at Norwich, was contained in the message of Governor Van Ness in 1823.[4]

1. *Journal of the General Assembly*, 1800. Also Tucker: *History of Hartford, Vt.*, p. 272.
2. *Journal of the General Assembly*, 1814, p. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, 1821. Also Tucker: *History of Hartford*, p. 273.
4. *Governor and Council*, Vol. VII, pp. 440-441.

The period was notable chiefly for the extension of academic privileges to young women, and the establishment of the first schools designed exclusively for the education of this sex. In an address before the Vermont Historical Society in 1896, Rev. A. D. Barber, discussing the first female academy and the beginning of the higher education of girls, states that inasmuch as Vermont was free and unhindered by the prejudices and practices of tradition, she was able "to frame her social and civil life according to the rules of reason. Accordingly girls as well as boys attended her schools from the first."[1]

Available evidence does not fully bear out the above statement. Though the framers of Vermont's early educational scheme made no distinction between the sexes, and though no obstacles were placed in the way of the attendance of young women at the county schools and academies, the conditions of pioneer life and the lack of definite incentives to pursue the higher classical or semi-classical studies operated to make these schools at first solely one-sex institutions. Girls received in the common schools what little education was generally thought necessary to their needs, while the daughters in more favored families were often privately instructed or sent to the select schools which sprang up at an early period.[2] A scrutiny of early cases of co-education reveals that an altogether different attitude was taken toward the two sexes: they were taught in separate classes, and the

1. Barber: *Vermont as a Leader in Educational Progress.* (In *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, Oct. 20 and Nov. 5, 1896, p. 83.)

2. In 1792 a private school in the town of Weybridge advertised instruction in "the Lattin, Greek and English languages" as well as in "reading, writing, arithmetic and mathematics." (*Vermont Gazette*, Vol. IX, No. 48, April 27, 1792.) In 1796 and 1797 a select school was conducted in Bennington where girls were taught fine sewing and embroidery, and where, after the lessons were recited, "a portion of each afternoon was devoted to ornamental branches." (Robinson: *op. cit.*, p. 12.) In the March 13, 1804, issue of the Windsor *Gazette* appears an advertisement of the Burlington Boarding School for young ladies. In the same paper, under date of Oct. 16, 1804, "P. and Eliza Tuckett inform the inhabitants of Windsor and that they propose to continue their School during the winter season." The Terms for "common instruction" were one shilling a week each. "Embroidery 18s. per quarter, French and Drawing 8s. per quarter each branch, and Four Dollars entrance." In the enterprising town of Woodstock select schools alone supplied the demand for higher education, both for boys and girls. (Dana: *History of Woodstock, Vermont.*)

instruction of girls ended with the primary branches which at an early date crept into the curricula of the grammar schools. It will have been noted that the first secondary school in Vermont was exclusively for boys. Existing records of other academies and county grammar schools established before 1800 likewise disclose no distinct references to the education of young women.[1]

The first allusion appears after the opening of the century, in the records of the Caledonia County Grammar School. In 1801 the following vote was entered in the secretary's book: "Voted that the committee appointed to superintend the Prudential affairs of the Institution be authorized, at their discretion, to employ a Female Assistant to the Preceptor to instruct Young Ladies in the several Branches of Female Education."[2] In 1803 Miss Clarissa Bates was paid $120 for teaching in the academy, and $10 was allowed her for travelling expenses. In the course of an advertisement appearing in the Brattleborough *Reporter* on March 29, 1806, the corporation of Windham County Grammar School, at Newfane, reported that "From the pleasant and healthy situation of the town in summer, this school has ever been large and respectable, at that season, and no less than 350 young masters and misses have been instructed in said school since its commencement." The preamble to the act incorporating the Orange County Grammar School at Randolph in 1806 contains the information that "a school has for more than two years past been here instituted and maintained for the instruction of youth of both sexes in those branches of education which are not generally taught in district schools."[3] In 1807 "a young ladies school is advertised to be opened on the first Monday in May for the instruction of young ladies in connection with the academy."[4] Both "Ladies" and "lads" are mentioned in the list of scholars appearing under "Conditions of the (Montpelier) Academy school beginning on Thursday

1. An article on Castleton Seminary (Rutland County Grammar School) in the *Boston Herald* for August 31, 1924, contains the statement that this school from the first was a co-educational institution. "It is among the few in New England which were started on this basis in those days and has continued as such." The claim, however, was not documented, and no substantiation can be found.

2. Records of the Secretary of Caledonia County Grammar School. (Ms.)

3. Nickerson and Cox: *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph, Vermont.*

4. *Ibid.*

the 17th of December, 1807." Nineteen lads and eleven ladies were enrolled for reading and writing, and thirteen lads and seven ladies for geography, grammar and arithmetic.[1] The dearth of material on female education prior to 1800 and the out-cropping of such evidence afterward, point to this period as the initial stage in the development of co-education in Vermont.

At the same time data are not lacking to indicate that the reception of female pupils was slow and their instruction on a distinctly inferior plane.[2] Popular philosophy conceived of female education as an ornamental affair; the grammar schools, however, were not as yet organized to include the "polite" subjects. No women's colleges beckoned them onward, and the normal school movement was still distant. The result was that when girls were accepted by these schools, in some cases to relieve ever-present financial stringencies, they were generally relegated to lower classes and their instruction taken less seriously than that of their brothers. In 1817, the by-laws of the Washington County Grammar School provided that "the male Scholars shall be exercised in Speaking & the Females in reading." Girls were commonly excused from declamation altogether. At Brownington the boys declaimed going to the front of the platform, but the girls read selections or essays by their seats. At St. Johnsbury the valedictorian was always a boy until about 1880. In 1816, at the academy in Burlington, it was the practice, common elsewhere, to teach the boys and girls in separate classes.

Middlebury Female Seminary

The female seminary founded in 1800 by the inhabitants of Middlebury probably had more than a local significance in elevating young women in the public mind to a position where they were soon to be accorded a more impartial educational attention. Swift wrote

1. Manuscript in possession of Vermont Historical Society. No names are listed for studying the languages. Note the elementary character of the studies.

2. A not uncommon attitude towards the proper function of an academy is seen in the reported conditions under which Zebulon Lyon agreed to furnish the building for the use of the academy at Royalton. The provisions of the gift were "that a school should be kept nine months in a year or eighteen months in two successive years, and it was not to be a 'Woman's school nor a common District School.'" (Lovejoy: *History of Royalton, Vermont*, p. 320.)

that this school, under the principalship of Miss Ida Strong,[1] "soon rose to such reputation as to attract pupils from nearly all parts of the state."[2] Emma Willard also stated that "pupils were gathered from all parts of the state, and many from the state of New York."[3] Dr. Merrill, a trustee of the Middlebury Female Seminary that was a later outgrowth of this school, wrote in 1840 that Miss Strong's school "acquired such celebrity and was so numerously attended from distant places, that it was deemed necessary to erect a building for her accomodation."[4] Although no legal corporation was formed to sustain this seminary, the democracy of the motives behind its establishment and its affiliation with the Addison County Grammar School made it a publicly supported institution of the same character as the chartered academies, and served to give it a standing which a select school could not have had. The duration of the school was short, from 1800 to the death of Miss Strong in 1804, but in this time it had proved that there was a wide-spread demand for schools where young women could receive an education of a higher quality than that provided by the district schools. It initiated a movement the subsequent effects of which are readily apparent in the educational history of the town of its birth. In the summer of 1807, Mrs. Willard, then Miss Emma Hart, took charge of the school, which had been idle since 1804, and conducted it until August, 1809. In 1814 she returned to her beloved profession, opening in that year a boarding school for girls. The plans which she evolved for the higher education of young women, plans which later were abundantly realized in her famous school at Troy, N. Y., are too well known to be re-stated here. It is sufficient to note that her theories served to increase interest in female education. Her labors, and those of Ida Strong, had preserved the original interest of the inhabitants of Middlebury in the education of girls, and in 1828 another school was founded and chartered as The Female School Association.

1. Ida Strong was a product of Miss Pierce's famous school in Litchfield, Connecticut. She was considered by Mrs. Willard as "the pioneer of female education in this state (Vermont). . . . No distinct school for the education of females in the higher branches had been established in this state and very few in the country." (Quoted by Swift, p. 392.)

2. *Ibid.*, p. 391. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

4. Merrill: *Semi-centennial Sermon.* . . . Delivered Dec. 3, 1840, Middlebury, 1841, p. 21. The school was originally held in the court-house. Funds for the building were furnished by popular subscription and the issuing of stock.

No record exists of the courses of study pursued at Ida Strong's school. Authority has been quoted that the "higher branches" were taught. Largely through the liberal theories held by Emma Willard, these branches slowly became established in female academies, and expanded to include more subjects. The earliest known catalogue of the Middlebury Female Academy[1] reveals that in 1833 the following subjects were offered: Reading, Spelling, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Ancient, Modern and Scripture Geography, Elements of History, Composition and Rhetorical Reader, Elements of Geometry, Natural, Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Rhetoric, Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, History of the United States, Political Economy, Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Algebra and Geometry, the Latin and French languages and Music.[2]

Windsor Female Academy

Credit for establishing the first chartered institution in Vermont devoted exclusively (at first) to the higher education of young women must go, however, to Colonel Josiah Dunham of Windsor. In 1814, the year in which Mrs. Willard opened her school in Middlebury, the legislature passed an act incorporating "The Windsor Female Academy," the preamble of which reads:

> Whereas, the importance of female education is acknowledged by all, who have contemplated the influence of first impressions on the youthful mind; and whereas great benefit might result to community from the establishment of a judicious and systematic plan of Female education, comprising the various

1. Probably the local name of The Female School Association.

2. *Catalogue of the Officers and Members of Middlebury Female Seminary*, 1833. Mrs. H. B. Cooke was principal. There were five women teachers, and a visiting committee of twelve ladies. In elevating a woman to the principalship of a secondary institution at a time when women were almost universally deemed incapable of the governing and executive power of fitting schools, the trustees were undoubtedly influenced by local precedent. The trustees, however, were men. The *Quarterly Register* reported in 1833 that "a very flourishing female seminary has been for some time in operation in Middlebury, under the superintendence of Miss Cooke, formerly of Vergennes. . . ." (*Quarterly Register*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 283.) A high school for young ladies called Mrs. Cooke's Seminary opened at Woodstock in 1834. With reference to this later school, Dana states that "Instruction was given in the elementary and higher branches, and in Latin and Greek. To the general curriculum was added for the season a course of lectures by one of the professors in the Medical School. . . ." (Dana: *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.)

branches of useful and polite literature; and whereas no such plan has yet been attempted in this section of the union; to this end, therefore . . .[1]

The following notice of the academy appeared in the Vermont "Republican" under date of April 8, 1816:

MR. DUNHAM'S FEMALE ACADEMY

will be continued for the ensuing season, at the Brick Building near the Court-House in Windsor.

Parents, disposed to give their *Daughters* advantages, whether of a social, moral, or literary nature, it is hoped, will not be disappointed, in placing them under an experienced Instructor in a local situation combining so many circumstances favorable to female improvement.

No exertions will be wanting to render the instruction *systematic* and *thorough* in every useful branch of Polite Literature, including (if required) *French, Latin,* etc. and, so far as may be necessary, suitable Assistants will be employed. Those who have been made acquainted with the character of the late pious and accomplished *Mrs. Ramsay,* will know how to appreciate what may be termed a *Liberal Female Education.* An establishment calculated to effect such an object, would be an invaluable public blessing.

The "Windsor Female Academy" will be duly organized, agreeable to the Charter, as soon as the State of its funds will admit. As yet, however, this Institution is on a *private footing,* wholly dependent on individual patronage for its support. But it is expected, that the Rev. *Mr. Fowler* will favor it with occasional visits and professional counsel; and that *Dr. Torrey* will give occasional *Lectures on Chemistry,* if a suitable apparatus can be procured.
Windsor, Vt., April 4, 1816[2]

Colonel Dunham soon extended his plan to include the education of "youths of the other sex." On April 14, 1817, the "Republican" carried the following advertisement:

WINDSOR FEMALE ACADEMY AND JUVENILE COLLEGE

Mr. Dunham, Continues his instruction, at the academy, in Windsor, Vt. The encouragement he has received, thus far, has induced him to extend his plan, and to admit, also, youths of the other sex, who may be intended for college, and the higher walks of Classical Literature. Different apartments are provided; and suitable *Female Assistants,* of established reputation, will be employed in *Painting,* and such other branches, as may be necessary and proper.—*Manners* and *Morals* will be, by no means, overlooked: . . .

Collegiate Degrees—will not be expected;—but such honorable Testimonials

1. *Laws,* 1814, p. 115. The proviso was added that the academy should be organized and go into operation within the term of five years.

2. *Vermont Republican,* Vol. VIII, No. 16.

of improvement, as Students, whether Male, or Female, may from time to time, be found to merit, will be cheerfully granted.

Board may be had in genteel families at a reasonable price. *Tuition* $6 a Quarter—for the *Rudiments*, only $3.

Windsor, March 30, 1817[1]

The founder's announcement that his "plan" was to be a systematic one was more than a gesture. The new regulations which he announced in 1817 constitute one of the first attempts in Vermont to departmentalize courses of study:

In order to render the instruction more systematic, uniform and complete, the young ladies will be divided into *three classes*, to be denominated, according to their several stages of improvement, the *first*, *second* and *third* classes.

1. The studies of the first, or initiatory class, will be reading, writing, English Grammar, and Geography.

2. Those of the second will be Arithmetic, Rhetoric, Natural History, Ancient Geography and the use of the Globes.

3. Those of the third, or highest class, will be Astronomy, Logic, History, Natural and Moral Philosophy, and various other branches of polite literature, including the study of the French and Latin languages.

Composition will be required, at least once a week, from each class; and Drawing Painting, etc. will not be confined to any one class, but occasionally attended to, without interfering with more important branches, as circumstances may require.

Saturdays will be devoted to a review of the studies of the week, to the reading of composition, and to moral and religious instruction.

Lessons in Music, on the Piano and Guitar, will be given, when required . . .[2]

In the historical address at the Centennial Celebration at Windsor, July 4, 1876, the Rev. Dr. Sewall Sylvester Cutting wrote as follows concerning this school:

I know my own memories—that as early as 1820 I was in Captain Dunham's famous school,—that in this school were pupils from Georgia, and from the frontier military post of the far-off Detroit—that among the pupils were the late eminent Chief Justice Bellows of New Hampshire, and one of our own townsmen of whom we are proud, the distinguished chemist, Augustus A. Hayes. Here, likewise, had been taught a little earlier than this, the late Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who was a Cornish boy. To this school came young ladies of aristocratic connections, whom my dim recollection recalls in images of stately beauty. At President Monroe's visit to Windsor, they shared in the honors of the reception. The school was the pride of the town, and when

1. *Vermont Republican*, Vol. IX, No. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 2, December 29, 1817.

Captain Dunham closed it to transfer himself to Lexington, Kentucky, a glory departed from among us.[1]

The pioneer work of Ida Strong, Josiah Dunham and Emma Willard could not but have influenced the public attitude towards the higher education of young women. A female academy was incorporated at Poultney in 1819, and five years later another at St. Johnsbury. It was only a few years before Samuel R. Hall was to give a further impulse to the higher education of women by calling the attention of academies and grammar schools to their function as teacher training institutions.

Furthermore, the state was passing through a period of rapid growth and social and economic development, and advanced communities were beginning to feel the need of institutions to carry on the work of their district schools. The incorporation within this twenty-year period of twenty-one secondary schools, an average of about one a year, is evidence of a growing appreciation of their importance, and latent changes were undoubtedly taking place in the educational conscience of the commonwealth. Be that as it may, we find grammar schools were inclining more and more to the co-educational principle, and soon after 1820 most of them had organized departments for the instruction of "ladies" and "gentlemen" alike.

The character of the grammar schools established between 1800-1820 has been to some extent revealed by the above outlines of the female academies at Middlebury and Windsor. The histories of three schools founded before 1800, but hardly under way until the turn of the century, further serve to illuminate this period and its educational experiments. Considerable data exist on at least five other institutions founded in this period, all of which later enjoyed

1. At the reception above noted, an address was presented to President Monroe which serves to "show the style of expression taught in this famous school": "Impressed with a high sense of the honor which the inhabitants of this village receive in being permitted to welcome the Chief Magistrate of the Union, we beg leave, on behalf of the Young Ladies of Windsor Female Academy to present you our humble tribute of respect, which although from the juvenile female pen, will not, we trust be unacceptable, or deemed entirely beneath your notice. While we regard the President of this Nation as the protector of our Country, the preserver of our rights and dearest privileges, and the guardian of our literary institutions, our hearts glow with feelings of gratitude and our delight to address him by the endearing appellation of Patron and Friend." (McI. Perkins: "The Old, in and about Windsor," *The Vermont Journal*, Jan. 8, 1915.)

long periods of useful service. These schools are Montpelier Academy (1800), Orange County Grammar School at Randolph (1805), Royalton Academy (1807), Chester Academy (1814) and Thetford Academy (1819). Montpelier Academy was re-incorporated in 1813 as the Jefferson County Grammar School. Thetford Academy survives to-day (1930) as a privately controlled institution.

Montpelier Academy

The act for the purpose of establishing an academy at Montpelier, in the County of Caledonia, was passed Nov. 7, 1800. In the act the estate "to the amount of the yearly income of five hundred dollars" was exempt from taxes; and the instructors and students were exempted from taxes and military service. That financial difficulties early harassed the school has been noted, and it was due to these that the trustees were moved in 1813 to apply for a new charter as a county school, with the land benefits which would accrue from such a status.

In 1807, the "conditions" of the Academy school were as follows:

> Tuition for reading and writing ten shillings and six pence, and for arithmetic, grammar and other English studies, two dollars per quarter, each schollar to be charged 3 shillings for fire wood—For those who study the languages 3 dollars per quarter & not to be charged for wood. . . .
>
> The strictest attention will be paid to the instruction of the pupils . . . should the school be so much crowded as to make it necessary to refuse any, the smallest must be excluded . . .
>
> The above conditions are the same as established by the board of trustees . . .
>
> (Signed) Joshua Y. Vail
> preceptor
>
> Montpelier
> December 15th 1807[1]

On July 20, 1817, the following by-laws were adopted by the trustees:[2]

> 1. Every scholar admitted into the school shall be ten years of age excepting that for the study of the Latin and Greek languages scholars under that age may be admitted and every scholar admitted shall be able to read and write

1. Manuscript records in possession of the Vermont Historical Society.
2. Manuscript records in possession of the board of the Washington County Grammar school.

decently shall sustain a good moral character & shall produce from the Treasurer a receipt of one quarter's tuition bill & all tuition bills shall be paid quarterly in advance, provided nevertheless that no scholar shall be required to pay for a longer term than *he or she* proposes to continue in the school, provided also that none shall be admitted for a shorter term than half a quarter.

2. Every member of the school shall attend punctually during the hours of study & shall be amenable to the Preceptor for his or her conduct both in school and elsewhere, shall promptly obey his orders shall treat him & all other persons with becoming respect, shall avoid gaming, idleness, tavern haunting, late hours abroad, profanity, intemperance, Sabbath breaking & every species of immorality & indecency, shall attend public worship on the Sabbath & shall exhibit a pattern of industry, sobriety, regularity & good manners & for any violation of this rule shall be subject to reproof, public confession, private or public admonition restitution (?) or expulsion according to the nature or aggravation of the offense . . .

3. All damages done to the building in which the school is kept shall by the Preceptor be assessed on him or them by whom such damages are done & shall be paid within four weeks under penalty of dismission from the school.

4. The school shall be opened in the morning and closed at evening by prayer in connexion with the reading of a portion of the Holy Scriptures.

5. Instruction shall be afforded in the school in Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography the Latin and Greek Languages Geometry & Trigonometry Surveying & Navigation Composition Elocution and History and the hours of study shall be regulated as follows (viz.) From the 20th of March to the 20th of September the School shall be opened at 9 o'clock in the morning & close at 12. and again opened at 2 o'clock P. M. & close at 5. During the other half of the year the hours of study shall be the same excepting that in the afternoon the school shall be opened at one & close at 4.

6. On every Wednesday afternoon the Male Scholars shall be exercised in Speaking & the Females in reading at which time the attendance of Ladies & Gentlemen as visitors shall be admitted & encouraged & every member of the school shall be required to exhibit an exercise in composition once a week. Every declamation shall before being pronounced in the school be submitted to the inspection of the Preceptor.

7. There shall be two vacations in each year of four weeks each, following the Monday preceding the 2^{d} Thursday in April & October making each quarter to consist of eleven weeks. (This arrangement was modified in 1820 to a set of 4 vacations of 1, 2, 1 and 4 weeks, after each quarter, the 4th week rest following the term of school which ended in August.)

8. On the week preceding each vacation there shall be a public examination which shall be attended by the Prudential Committee & such other members of the board as may be able to attend at which times all the members of the school shall be particularly examined in those branches of study to which they have been attending at which examinations the attendance of all persons disposed shall be invited & encouraged.

9. The price of tuition for scholars living within this County shall be one dollar & fifty cents per quarter; for those without the County two Dollars, un-

til the board shall by law order otherwise paid always to the Treasurer in advance: & in case of the sickness or death of any Scholar any money advanced beyond the term of attendance shall be refunded.

10. No boarding scholar shall board or lodge at any house disapproved by the Preceptor or Prudential Committee.

The duties of the prudential committee of the board were "to manage the prudential concerns of the institution to contract with instructors agreeably to the direction of the board, to examine & decide on the qualifications of such as may apply for admission into the school when requested by the Preceptor, to inspect the School & see that the laws of the same are faithfully executed & duly observed to attend all public examinations to sit in judgment with the Preceptor in cases wherein they may be authorized so to do by the laws of the School & to draw orders on the Treasurer for the payment of such sums as they shall appropriate pursuant to the direction of the Board."

At the annual meeting of the Board Dec. 1, 1817, it was voted that "Instead of every member of the school, every member of the school over fourteen years of age shall be required to exhibit an exercise in Composition once a week."

At the Dec. 7th 1818 meeting it was voted "that the price for tuition of schollars residing out of the County shall hereafter be $1.50 per quarter to commence with the present year."

On Dec. 14th the entering age was lowered to nine years.

On Jan. 11th 1820 a change in by-laws was voted so that compositions were required "once in two weeks instead of once a week" (Art. 6), and two articles were added:

(Art. 11) Scholars under 14 years of age, may, if the preceptor judge proper be exempted from being exercised in speaking and also, all scholars, whose parents or guardians shall request the same, in writing, shall be exempted from the exercises of composition and speaking—and every scholar under the age of fourteen shall be daily exercised in reading and spelling. And every member of the school shall regularly attend to, at least, one branch of study besides reading, writing and spelling, and any one refusing to comply with this requirement shall be dismissed from the school. . . . And any scholar who shall become indolent, habitually refusing to learn his or her regular lesson, but spend his or her time in diverting or disturbing other scholars, he, or she, shall be publicly or privately admonished, and refusing to reform, shall be dismissed from the school.

(Art. 12) Every member of the school shall be furnished with a bible, to be used in the school only in a serious manner, connected with religious exercises;

and all other books, used in the school, shall be recommended by the prudential committee, together with the preceptor: and such scholars as neglect to furnish themselves with necessary books, after due opportunity is given, shall be dismissed from the school.

On Aug. 26, 1824, it was "Voted, That the tuition be raised from two to three dollars, per quarter." Also:

"On motion, voted that the sum of twenty-five dollars be annually appropriated for the purchase of a Chemical and Philosophical apparatus and Library for the use of the school.

"On motion, voted that a select committee, of two, be appointed; in conjunction with the Preceptors of the Academy, to fix upon the course of studies to entitle a student to a certificate of qualifications for school instruction."

On Aug. 5(?), 1829, it was "Voted, That the Female department of the school be continued: and that schollars in that department be received, under nine years of age, for the ensuing year, at the discretion of the Prudential Committee."

At the Oct. 13, 1828 meeting the following course of studies was adopted as necessary to complete for an honorary certificate or diploma:

Orthography, Reading, Writing, Composition, geography, Grammar, Arithmetic, Rhetoric, History of Vermont, History U. States, Elements of Gen. History, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Drawing, Evidences of Christianity, Natural Philosophy, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Mensuration of Surfaces (?) and Solids, Linear Drawing.

On July 29, 1839, the following graded system of tuition was adopted: $3 for orthography, reading, arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography and composition; $5 for languages & mathematics, $4 for all other studies.

The first preceptor of Montpelier was James Whorter, "a temporary teacher." From this time until the school was merged into the Union District to become the Montpelier Union School in 1860, there were twenty-four principals. With but few exceptions, these preceptors taught but one or two years each. Frequent changes such as this occurred in most of the grammar schools and academies.

Dorset Grammar School

This school was first chartered in 1804 and re-incorporated three years later because of a change in location. The school probably had a brief career, but it is of interest because of its association with the

influential life of the town's leading citizen, the Rev. William Jackson, pastor of the Congregational Church, whose name heads the list of trustees. A few years before, he had been elected the first member of the corporation of Middlebury College, and twenty-five years later his influence is again noted in the establishment of Burr Seminary at Manchester.[1]

In linking education closely with religion, "Priest" Jackson symbolized the educational philosophy of his day. With the help of leading members of the church he organized in 1804 (the same year in which the Dorset Grammar school was chartered) "The Evangelical Society," the first society in the United States "organized on the plan of giving public education to pious and indigent youth."[2] This society is credited with having aided about fifty young men in their preparation for the ministry, a work in which the Dorset Grammar School doubtless played an important part. Through Dr. Jackson's

1. Anderson, Rev. James: Historical address presented July, 1860. (Ms.) For Mr. Burr's bequest (according to Mr. Anderson) "we are indebted doubtless to the suggestion of the late Dr. Jackson of Dorset. His mind had been much engaged in the education of young men for the Christian Ministry. And in designating the objects to which Mr. Burr could appropriately bestow a portion of his estate, he represented to him that it would subserve the interests of Religion and Learning to lay the foundation of an institution here. . . ." Dr. Jackson was also on the committee appointed "to digest a system of study" (Anderson papers, Dec. 16, 1829) and to pass on the applications of indigent students who wished financial aid in their pursuit of an education in preparation for the ministry. (Broadside on Burr Seminary, March 15, 1833.)

2. Sheldon, Lillian A.: "Educational Development of Dorset" (In *Sketches of Dorset*, Vermont, p. 25). See also Humphrey: *The Story of Dorset*, p. 121. According to Barber, the first society was organized at Pawlet, March 6, 1804, with Dr. Jackson as president. The object of the society was "to aid pious and ingenious young men in indegent (sic) circumstances to obtain an education for the work of the gospel ministry." The next education society was organized at Middlebury in August, 1813, under the name of The Middlebury College Charitable Society. Barber states that Dr. Jackson organized the society at Dorset in the year 1814. (Barber: *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96. Also *American Quarterly Register*, Feb. 1837.) Similar objects were expressed elsewhere; for example, when Union (later Kimball-Union) Academy was projected in the church council that met at Windsor in 1812, approval was given to the object of assisting "in the education of poor and pious youth for the ministry," as well as "such others as the Trustees might choose to admit." (Richards: "The New England Academy is one of the Fairest Fruits of Puritan Idealism." In *Proceedings of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Granting of the Charter to Kimball Union Academy.*)

influence it was said that "more young men from his small town received a collegiate education than from all the rest of the county."[1]

The stimulating effect which such educational leadership and the presence of a grammar school had on the intellectual life of a community is illustrated in the founding, sometime during the first decade of the century, of "The Dorset Female Philologian Society."

Orange County Grammar School

The Orange County Grammar School was incorporated by an act of the Legislature on November 7, 1806. The preamble discloses that the inhabitants of Randolph, "with the assistance of other liberal people" in the county, had already built and furnished "a large, elegant and convenient school-house" at the cost of over two thousand dollars, and had appropriated a two-acre plot of ground for the school.

In the "Weekly Wanderer" for April, 1807, the trustees notified the public that the school would be opened May 4th under the instruction of a Mr. William Nutting, a member of the Senior Class at Dartmouth. The notice continues:

> As the trustees have spared no pains or expense to get an able Preceptor of said school, they have no doubt of receiving the liberal patronage of an enlightened public in their endeavors to render said school highly useful to the community. The lands appropriated to the use of said school will be to be let on the 25th of May next. But as the rents will be paid annually from that time, the first years expenses of the school must be defrayed as usual.
>
> Tuition, $2 first or younger class.
> $3 pr. quarter second class.
> (Signed) Dudley Chase, Clerk.

The school year was divided into terms of eleven weeks each. The total attendance for the first year was 151 scholars. Of this number only 27 were girls. A little over half were residents of the town of Randolph itself.

Pember contributes an interesting account of the distribution of studies and the early development of the curriculum in this school:

> Of the students of the first term, one studied Latin and Greek, eighteen studied Latin but not Greek. The other studies mentioned were grammar, geography, arithmetic, rhetoric and mathematics. One student had three studies, one had English studies without specifying how many, eleven had two

1. Humphrey: *op. cit.*, p. 121.

studies each, and the others, twenty-one in number, had one study each. In the second term eight students had Latin and Greek and fifteen had Latin without Greek. In the third term one had Greek, fourteen had Latin, none had both; thirty-two had arithmetic, twenty-eight had grammar, seven had reading, two had geography, two had writing. Thirty-one of these had but one study each. Instruction then was given individually. There were no classes. Algebra and chemistry appear by name first in 1808. Logic in 1810, natural philosophy in 1812, astronomy in 1815, moral philosophy in 1817, French in 1828.[1]

Apparently the school was not as pressed for funds as the one at Montpelier, for the same writer reports that after Mr. Nutting's salary of $400 had been paid, it was found at the end of the year "that with the tuition (amounting to $206.11) and the income from the Grammar school lands, they had paid all bills and had a balance to carry over of $129.21. Accordingly they voted to reduce the tuition to $1.50 a term."[2]

By an act of legislature the Orange County Grammar School became a State Normal School in 1866.

Royalton Academy

The town of Royalton should possibly be credited with the first public grammar school in the state of Vermont. The evidence is so meagre, however, that the claim can not be substantiated. All that is known is that on Nov. 19, 1782, "the town at a special meeting appointed Lieut. Stevens, John Hibbard and Lieut. Calvin Parkhurst, a committee to draw a subscription paper in order to promote a 'greamery' school."[3]

On Nov. 11, 1807, the town obtained a charter establishing a county grammar school by the name of Royalton Academy. The school had opened several years before this date, according to Lovejoy, who found in the early records of Middlebury college that a Walter Chapin was principal of Royalton academy in the year 1803-1804.

The excellent town history affords some enlightening data on teachers' contracts. A letter from Remembrance Chamberlain dated Cavendish, June 12, 1815, is addressed to Col. Stafford Smith, and reads: "I shall be in Royalton to begin school the fourth Monday in August. It was mutually agreed when the bargain was stated, that, if

1. Pember: *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph*, p. 42.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Lovejoy: *op. cit.*, p. 317.

after a fair trial, the school shall not be profitable, I should be released from my engagements."[1] That it was not a paying venture is indicated by the fact that this teacher stayed only about a year. On July 19, 1816, "the committee hired William Arms Chapin for one year. He was to provide wood for the school, and his own board, and to receive $100 and the tuition of pupils at $2 per quarter, the trustees to guarantee board and accomodation to all who should apply."[2] Mr. Chapin stayed but a year. The principal for 1819-20 (?) was John D. Willard, who was also hired to teach on a one-year contract. He was to receive $350, and "the trustees agreed to board him 'with a separate room, wood, washing, and candles.' He was to have two vacations in the year, not to exceed four weeks in the whole."[3]

The early history of Royalton Academy indicates that it was a genuinely local institution. In 1817 a project was begun to increase the resources of the school, and "the subscribers agreed to pay (annually) the sums affixed to their names, 'so long as the said Grammar School shall be kept in operation, or so long as the subscriber or subscribers shall live within one mile of the Academy where it now stands on the common.' "[4] The earliest known catalogue, that for 1830, reveals that the great majority of the students were local boys and girls. All but one of the "ladies" were from Royalton. The school was fortunate also in numbering among its supporters such friends of learning as Zebulon Lyon and Stafford Smith. Col. Smith in 1816 gave a note of $100 to the school, "the interest to be annually for the use of the school so long as it should be in operation nine months of the year."[5] Mr. Lyon had previously furnished the building, and in 1817 deeded to the school two areas of land in Pomfret.[6]

Royalton operated its academy throughout the century. In 1896, the trustees delegated the power of hiring teachers to the town board of directors, who established a town high school in connection with

1. Lovejoy: *op. cit.*, p. 320.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. The rentals from this land were to provide the tuition of "young men of piety and ability, proposing to fit for the ministry, who should bring a note of recommendation from the Royalton Association of Ministers." Although only one individual is recorded as having taken advantage of the offer, the gift has interest as one of the first recorded examples of such a philanthropy.

the academy, supported in part by academy funds and in part by school taxation. The state course of study was adopted in 1907.

Chester Academy

Records have it that in 1766 or thereabouts the town of Chester offered to give 2000 acres of land if Rev. Eleazar Wheelock would locate his school, afterwards chartered as Dartmouth college, in that town.[1] It was not until 1814, however, that the community organized its academy. Apparently the school was well established and well advertised, and for sixty-two years it was satisfactorily maintained by the inhabitants of the town. A commodious, well-proportioned, three-story brick building was built, the upper story having been erected, owned and occupied for many years by the order of Masons. "Ten years after the incorporation the school was in a flourishing condition, with an attendance of sixty students."[2] At a later period, 150 students at each spring and fall term was "no uncommon enrollment."[3] The total attendance for the four terms ending Nov. 20, 1840, was 259.[4]

The first record of the school is found in an advertisement in the "Vermont Republican" for February 27, 1815:

> The Board of Trustees of Chester Academy having engaged Mr. James Dean, late Professor of Mathematics in the Vermont University, to take the charge of said academy, do give public notice, that said academy will be opened on the second Monday of March next, for the reception of Students, in the various branches of Literature.
>
> From the pleasantness of the situation, the accomodations of the building, the literary character of the Preceptor, and the determination of the citizens of Chester to accomodate the Scholars for board on reasonable terms, the Trustees flatter themselves with the prospect of the patronage of the public.
>
> Aaron Leland
> Tho's S. Fullerton,
> John P. Williams,
> Committee
>
> Chester, Feb. 15, 1815[5]

1. Bush: *History of Education in New Hampshire*, p. 140.
2. Aldrich and Holmes: *History of Windsor County*.
3. *Proceedings at Chester, Vermont*, June 29, 1909, on Old Home day.
4. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Chester Academy*, 1840. At that time the school employed a principal, a teacher of the French language, and three teachers in the Female Department, one each for the spring, summer and fall terms.
5. *Vermont Republican*, Vol. VII, No. 10.

A catalogue dated Oct. 1, 1823 is one of the oldest preserved in the records of the Vermont academies. In this document we find that the institution was "under the immediate direction of a board of 10 trustees. Fees for tuition from $2.00 to $3.00 per quarter. Room rent $0.60 per quarter. Charges for board, washing and lodging in the village $1.17 per week."—The names of seven boys are listed in a "Greek Class," fifteen in a "Latin Class," and 42 "gentlemen" and 20 "Ladies" in English.

The laws of the school are printed in the catalogue for November, 1824:

Article I. No student shall be admitted, who cannot read tolerably without spelling.

Article II. The tuition for ordinary branches of study shall be 17¢ per week. For students in Latin and Greek languages, higher branches of Mathematics and Geography 25¢ week.

Article III. Each student who occupies a room in academy (except school room) shall pay 5¢ a week for his share of the rent of said room.

Article IV. No student shall be admitted for less term than six weeks: and no allowance shall be made for lost time except in case of actual sickness.

Article V. On withdrawing from the school notice must be given to the Instructor and the tuition paid up that the charges may be stopped.

Article VI. All damage done to the building must be repaired, or paid by the student (or his parents) who committed same.

Article VII. No student shall enter anothers room without first knocking and receiving permission and no student shall visit another's room during the hours of school.

Article VIII. It is seriously required of the students that they attend public worship on the Sabbath, and that they do not stroll about the street and fields on said day.

Article IX. No student occupying a room in the academy shall admit visitants into his room on the Sabbath: except family connections in the interval of Divine worship.

Article X. The student shall not use any violent exercise or make any improper noise in either the alleys or rooms of the academy, or near the building. And no student of the school room shall ever ascend the stairs without particular and serious business with some student residing in the second story.

Article XI. No student shall bring any inebriating liquor into the academy: or purchase any in the village without permission from the instructor.

Article XII. Any student who shall be guilty of deliberate falsehood, profane swearing or quarelling shall be reported to the instructor.

Article XIII. The student shall pay proper respect to the Preceptor; and never pass him in the street, the alleys of the academy or enter or leave the school room without making their obeisance.

Article XIV. The student shall be at their lodging at a seasonable time for retiring for rest.

Article XV. The Preceptor shall from time to time appoint two of the students as monitors, whose duty it shall be, to report to him any breach of the foregoing bylaws that may come to their knowledge.

Article XVI. If any student shall violate any of the foregoing laws: the Preceptor is required to admonish him publicly, according to his discretion, and if such student shall not reform and his conduct shall continue such as to render his company dangerous to the good habits of the other students it shall be the duty of the Preceptor to report him to the Board of Trustees, that his conduct may be inquired into and for them with the Preceptor to determine whether he ought to be expelled.

The school became merged with School District Number Twenty in 1869,[1] and was finally legislated out of existence on Nov. 22, 1876.

Thetford Academy

The act incorporating Thetford Academy was passed Oct. 29, 1819. In October of the next year the school was given the rentals of the grammar school lands in the towns of Washington and Chelsea in Orange county,[2] and the following year a third act gave the trustees the requisite power for controlling these lands. The school opened on the 8th of February, 1819, and has had an uninterrupted career of 110 years. With the single exception of the Caledonia County Grammar School at Peacham, it is the oldest private academy still (1930) in existence in Vermont.

For nearly forty years prior to the founding of Thetford, the religious and intellectual life of the town had been dominated by the personality of Dr. Asa Burton, a noted theologian of the day and one of the ablest clergymen in the state.[3] "His influence had been deeply felt in matters connected with education. He had exerted himself to waken in the young a high regard for learning and a per-

1. *Acts and Resolves*, 1869, pp. 69-72.

2. *Acts*, 1820, pp. 161-162. By granting county lands to academies, and giving the trustees control, the legislature gave to these schools the practical status of a county grammar school. After 1820 only two institutions were chartered as county grammar schools, the Lamoille County Grammar School at Johnson and the Chittenden County Grammar School at Richmond, both in 1836.

3. Adams: *Memoir of the Rev. Asa Burton, D.D.*, Thetford, Vt. Dr. Burton was the chief proponent of what was generally called the "Taste scheme" in opposition to the "Exercise scheme" championed by Dr. Emmons of Franklin, Mass. This he elucidated in his *Essays on Some of the First Principles of Metaphysics, Ethics and Theology*, published in 1824.

sonal interest in it."[1] He visited the town schools, conferred with teachers and kept informed on texts and educational theory. A library had also been collected and "a village lyceum organized in which the interests of education . . . were discussed."[2] The interest of the town in higher learning had been practically demonstrated by contributions, through the medium of a local charitable or benevolent society, to the Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, N. H., to which school chiefly it was obliged to send its young men.

The situation, then, was ripe for the establishment of an academy in the town itself. Simeon Short, then a young lawyer, is credited with having first conceived of the project. His thought was: "Why not have an academy in Thetford, instead of sending our students so far away to one in another state and contributing money also for its support?"[3] The plan met with general approval. A subscription was begun, work and materials for a building contributed, and in the short period of six months the academy was completed and opened to students.

Rev. John Fitch was employed as the first preceptor at a salary of $300, with $30 allowed for house rent. The tuition was $2 for English studies and $3 for the languages. The estimated average attendance during the first year was about fifty. Mr. Fitch remained six years, during which time twelve scholars were prepared for college. Part of the time, at least, he had the assistance of a female teacher. Tuition was paid directly to the preceptors who followed.

The interest of the community in its school was early demonstrated by the establishment of what would today be called an endowment fund. During the first year of its existence, Judge Jedediah Buckingham, the treasurer, opened an account under the title of "Charitable funds of Thetford Academy," and during Mr. Fitch's preceptorship $232 was paid out to "meritorious students." Financial aid was also given to graduates attending college.[4]

The courses of study offered during this early period are given in an early catalogue for November, 1827:

> The present systematic and thorough course of education pursued in this Institution, induces the Trustees to hope for publick confidence and a liberal and

1. Slafter: *Historical discourse.* In *Thetford Academy, Seventy-fifth Anniversary and Reunion*, p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Slafter: *op. cit.*, p. 22.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

merited patronage. Its increasing prosperity, since the services of the present Instructors have been secured, is no small recommendation of its character. The valuable chemical lectures by Dr. Palmer, and its other advantages, it is believed, render this school, one of the first order. The various branches of a Classical and English education are taught; Latin and Greek languages; Reading, Composition and Declamation once in two weeks; Geography with instruction on the Globes; Mathematics; Rhetoric; Natural and Moral Philosophy; Chemistry and Astronomy; together with Painting on paper and velvet, and fine Needle work, lace, &c.

The winter term will begin on the 10th of December.

The summer term of the female department will commence on the 10th of May next, under the care of Miss Poole.

The Chemical Lectures of Dr. Palmer will commence in future on the 5th of October, and continue 7 weeks.

The absence of records for the first twenty years or more make it difficult to trace the scholastic development of the school during that period. From 1825 until Hiram Orcutt took charge in 1843, there were sixteen or seventeen preceptors, most of whom remained but a year, and sometimes for but a term or two. Often they were young college graduates, and the position was accepted because it provided a ready income to enable them to continue some chosen profession. Irregularity in attendance added to the difficulty of organizing the school on progressive principles. On this point Orcutt wrote:

> The old academy of our boyhood days was the hope of the common schools, and the main feeder of the college; but it was necessarily unsystematic, as a result of the irregularity of attendance. Well-arranged courses of study and a graded system of instruction were impossible. Most of the students came from the farm and the workshop, with no preparation except such as they could get in the district school of that day, and they were compelled to work their way unaided. Hence they were obliged to alternate terms of study in the spring and labor in the summer. As a result, the autumn and spring terms were comparatively large, and the winter and summer terms small. Thus proper classification was impossible.[1]

Under such conditions academic growth was not to be expected. The catalogue for the year ending Nov. 29, 1839, does not give the courses in detail. Tuition charges simply show that there was an English and a Classical department, and that instruction in French or drawing also could be obtained. The enrolment shows the names of 62 "gentlemen" and 64 "ladies." Eleven boys and seven girls were taking the languages. It was not until the principalships of Hiram

1. Orcutt: *Reminiscences of School Life*, pp. 25-26.

Orcutt and Gilbert Hood that definite advances were made in curricular content and pedagogical efficiency.

Period 1820-1840

Expansion of Academic Movement

Land Divisions. Varied Experiment, Enrichment and Progress

A steady growth in the academy movement is noticeable in the twenty years beginning in 1820. Compared with 10 academies incorporated in the years 1810-1819, we find 15 in the years 1820-1829, and 18 in the years 1830-1839. Thirty-three schools were chartered between 1820-1840 as compared with 21 for the preceding twenty-year period. The development is not phenomenal, however, and may be attributed to normal impetus and the gradual increase in the state's population and its attendant economic and social effects.

Though the state evinced during this period a renewed interest in the public elementary schools, its attitude towards the private secondary schools which it had chartered underwent little change. The policy was one of laissez-faire; vital relationship is found only when the Assembly intercedes to grant petitions or settle disputes regarding the division of grammar school lands and the appropriation of land rentals. Certain academies, such as Thetford and Bradford, were re-incorporated as county grammar schools in order that they might technically qualify for such income. By means of these rentals also, a kind of oblique pressure was laid on secondary institutions to keep their schools going: thus, the corporation of Londonderry Grammar School, which had been granted the rights formerly enjoyed by Windham Hall, was to forfeit its land income to the use of the common schools if the school was allowed to lapse for a year or more.[1]

About the time that the legislature was re-chartering certain academies as county grammar schools, it was following the somewhat inconsistent course of granting percentages of land incomes to schools

1. *Acts*, 1822, Chap. 54, p. 76. Such provisos, though well intended, often operated in such a manner that a school, under the stress of circumstance, would sometimes keep open for only a term or two in order to be within the letter of the law and retain its land rights. (See case of Orleans county: *Proceedings of the Orleans County Historical Society* . . . 1888.)

which had been incorporated as "academies" and whose status as such had not been changed. Possibly the principle was followed that schools whose aims, methods of support and control, courses of study, etc. were comparable, were entitled to equal assistance. Possibly it was felt that the income from lands sequestered in or near a town where an academy was established should contribute to the support of that academy rather than one in a distant part of the county. Possibly the legislature was merely committed to the policy of encouraging as many towns as possible which desired to build schools. Whatever the forces at work, however, the division and repeated re-division of these land rentals, especially in those counties where there were areas of some value, tended to weaken what was left of the county school system in Vermont. To what unfortunate extremities this land-division policy could go, the county of Orleans bore witness.

. . . . . .

Educational Developments

Several important features distinguish this period as one of marked expansion: the latter half, indeed, may well be characterized as the golden age of the academy in Vermont.

(1) The interest of the church in education, which previously had had significant but indirect effects in the founding, manning and maintaining of academies and grammar schools, came to a head in the actual founding and control of several denominational institutions. Religious aims were emphasized in other schools, and branches of the American Education Society were established in several counties whose aim was to encourage and help young men in their training for the ministry.

(2) Early in this period the first academy was founded giving courses which trained young people for the vocation of teaching, and by 1834 at least, "normal courses" or lectures on teaching were beginning to appear in the curricula of other schools.

(3) Secondary schools became markedly co-educational in character. An increase in middle-class well-being served to kindle educational ambition and pride, and parents were becoming more and more anxious to give their daughters as well as their sons the benefits which the higher schools offered. The attendance of young women was further increased by the opportunities offered through vocational in-

struction in the science of teaching. During these twenty years, five academies exclusively for "females" were established.

(4) About the middle of the period several academies adopted the experiment of aiding the finances and developing the health of their pupils by manual labor plans, a movement which indicated how educational influences from other states were beginning to creep into Vermont.

(5) This influence is further shown by the frequent establishment in Vermont towns of public lyceums whose aim was to stimulate learning, and in cooperation with academies, to provide illustrative apparatus for use in connection with the teaching of certain subjects. In no small part through the incentives provided by the lyceums, the physical equipment of secondary schools was greatly improved, and by 1828 we find, in legislative acts of incorporation, such provisions as this:

> That the property of the books, mathematical instruments, and philosophical apparatus, which shall constitute the library, may belong to said corporation, shall not, at any time, be divided among the members thereof, but shall be permanently located in said academy . . .[1]

(6) The second half of the period is notable also for a liberal expansion of the curriculum after decades marked by slow progress. The first attempts to develop systematic courses of study were likewise made during these twenty years. Early in the period, if not in the preceding decade, the more advanced academies began to organize into separate departments for ladies and gentlemen, and into separate and more or less distinct divisions for those taking English or classical studies. This significant development from a period of unified school organization and consolidation of subject matter to one of experimental classification of scholars and differentiation in and arrangement of subject matter, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII.

Influence of the Church and Clergy. Establishment of Schools under Denominational Auspices . . .

The development in New England of a church state resulted at an early period in the close affiliation of religion with education. The Puritan doctrine that "nothing in life was untinged with a religious

1. *Acts*, Oct. 1828. *An act incorporating the Jerico Academy*, p. 39.

aspect"[1] was reflected in the predominantly religious aims of the secondary schools during the Colonial period. This religious purpose (together with the college-preparatory aim) was carried over into the academy, though "it was a broader conception of religion than that which influenced the Latin Grammar school."[2] In Vermont it was "the call of the people for an educated ministry."[3]

The influence of the church and clergy on secondary education in Vermont was evident at an early date. The local minister was often the only college-bred citizen in the town, and in those deliberations which preceded the establishment of an academy or grammar school, he took a prominent part. The inspiration and practical aid lent by Dr. Burton at Thetford and by Dr. Jackson at Dorset furnish examples of the beneficial effects of a broad religious outlook. When these institutions were founded, "by almost common consent the resident clergymen were made trustees,"[4] and the work of the school soon came to be closely associated with that of the church. Bunker states, for example, that an "intimate connection . . . has always existed between the Academy (Caledonia County Grammar School) and the church. The citizens of the town have ever regarded the interests of the one as the interests of the other. . . . As the leaders in the town and church started the school, the church has ever watched over the school as a favorite elder daughter."[5] Little declares that "as private corporations, under the management of men with positive religious convictions, (these academies) have wielded a power for

1. Adams: *The Founding of New England*, p. 194.

2. Grizzell: *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865*, p. 32.

3. Bicknell: "Thetford Academy." In *The Centennial of Thetford Academy*, p. 9.

4. DeBoer: In Bush's *History of Education in Vermont*, p. 56. DeBoer adds that in Montpelier "26 out of 81 . . . who thus far (1900) served the Washington County Grammar School have been clergymen. The moral support, the direction of intellectual activity, the maintenance of proper standards of education thus derived have been great factors in giving force to these early schools." In regard to the common schools, Bush declared that "the only faithful and determined friends . . . were said to be 'mainly clergymen of different denominations.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 19.)

5. Bunker: *Anniversary Exercises of the Congregational Church, Peacham, Vermont*, April 14, 1894, p. 80. The niece of Ezra Carter, the first principal, started a Sunday School in the Academy. (*Ibid.*, p. 29.) "As early as 1817 and 1818 we hear of young people's prayer meetings that were conducted by themselves in Academy Hall." (*Ibid.*, p. 48.)

good, second only to that of the church, whose handmaid they have always been."[1] The causes of education and religion were further helped by the organization, early in the century, of charitable and evangelical societies whose aim was to encourage young men who wished to enter the ministry. Jackson's pioneer work anticipated the activity of the American and the New England Education Societies.[2]

A more direct but less frequent contribution was made in the field of actual instruction. The histories of Vermont towns contain numerous references to the educational activities of the clergy, efforts confined chiefly, however, to the common schools. With a few exceptions the academies and grammar schools were taught by the laity, most commonly by young college graduates who were often drafted before they had completed their education. But certain institutions, notably the Addison County Grammar School and at times the denominational academies, depended for instruction on the clergy, who often performed the dual functions of preaching and teaching.

Nevertheless it was not until 1830, in the middle of the period under consideration, that the religious influence became potent through the medium of the organized denomination. At this time the annual conventions of the Baptists and Methodists concerned themselves energetically with educational projects.[3] This sudden desire to participate directly in the establishment of secondary schools is not clearly

1. Little: "The Origin and Mission of the New England Academy." (In *Semi-Centennial of Black River Academy*, 1835-1885, p. 33.)

2. The object of the New England Education Society was "to assist young men in their efforts to prepare for successful teachers, preachers, missionaries, and translators of the Holy Scriptures." ("Fifth Annual Report of the Directors of the Vermont Branch of the N. E. Education Society." In *Proceedings of the Baptist Convention of the State of Vermont*, p. 32.) The Vermont branch of the society at that time was supporting twenty-five young men at different colleges.

3. The Congregationalists "never established an academy on an ecclesiastical idea, or managed one with a view to ecclesiastical work." (Hulbert: *The Academy: Demands for it, and the Conditions of its Success*, p. 12.) President Hulbert adds that the Congregational churches held an "anomalous position . . . while we have several prosperous academies under boards and teachers, and in communities of the Congregational belief, still the denominational idea never appears full high advanced upon their fronts. It is never disclosed in the names by which these academies are known." (*Ibid.*, p. 12.) At this time there were few Episcopalians. (Robinson: *Vermont, a Study of Independence*, p. 308.)

explained in the deliberations of the conventions. It was undoubtedly an aspect of the great religious revival which started to sweep over New England ten or fifteen years before.[1] The influence of the American Education Society is likewise apparent, an influence vitalized by the pressing need of such denominations for more ministers.

The first allusion to the interest of the Baptist denomination in academies occurs in the minutes of the State Convention of 1830.[2] The convention at that time was unable to render assistance to Burr Seminary, as "institutions to which we are already pledged imperiously demand our patronage."[3] In 1832 the legislature granted an act of incorporation to twenty-four individuals, ten of whom were clergymen. These trustees, who represented different towns, received proposals from several communities in the State for the location of an institution.[4] "Finally the proposal from Brandon was considered the most liberal and was accepted, and the school was located there under the name of The Vermont Literary and Scientific Institution.[5] In 1834 Black River Academy in Ludlow and The Leland Classical and English School in Townshend were likewise

1. Bicknell: *op. cit.*, p. 9.

2. Dorset Grammar school (1804) had been "organized and run by the Baptists," but the movement in this case was evidently a purely local one. (Humphrey: *op. cit.*, p. 108.)

3. Crocker: *History of the Baptists in Vermont*, p. 537.

4. *Ibid.* The legislative record has it that the institution was already located at Brandon when the incorporating act was passed. (*Acts*, 1832, pp. 105-106.) The trustees referred to were those chosen by the Convention "to take measures to raise funds for and locate the Institution," and not the trustees of the institution as incorporated. (Letter of John Conant to William Churchill, quoted by Crocker, *op. cit.*, pp. 539-540.)

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 537-540. The inhabitants of Brandon had raised $5000 and built a four-story brick building. The method of deciding the location of denominational schools on the basis of the highest bidding town was followed in other cases. (Cf. Atherton: *The Semi-Centennial of Black River Academy*, 1835-1885, p. 12; Cutler: *History of Leland and Gray Seminary*, pp. 11-13; Carpenter: In *Proceedings of the Orleans County Historical Society* from August, 1890 to September, 1891, Aldrich (comp.); *History of Franklin and Grand Isle Counties*, pp. 475-476; Bailey: *A Brief Sketch of Old Newbury Seminary*; and Joslin et. al.: *A History of the Town of Poultney*, p. 163.) The advantages which the presence of a denominationally backed school would offer were a strong inducement to towns which had no secondary schools, and many applications for the location were made. The quasi-public nature of these schools is thus evident.

established under the auspices of the Baptist denomination, and five years later Derby Literary and Theological Institute.[1]

At the same time that the Baptist conventions were founding their schools, the Methodist denomination was pursuing the same course. In the year that the school at Brandon was incorporated, Rev. Solomon Sias reported to the New Hampshire Methodist Conference, in session at Lyndon, that "the time has come for this Conference to extend its patronage to a literary institution within its own boundary."[2]

Petitions had been received from Capt. Partridge of Norwich and Col. Buck of Chelsea that the school be located in those towns, but "the citizens of Newbury subscribed $6000 on condition that the conference should raise an equal sum and locate their school in this town."[3] The school was chartered in 1833 and opened a year later. In 1834 the Troy Conference of the Methodist church, meeting in Plattsburg, resolved that an academy should be opened at West Poultney, the people of the town and vicinity having subscribed "quite liberally" to the project.[4] The act incorporating the school was passed in October, 1834. Somewhat later (1846) the Springfield Wesleyan Seminary was founded under the patronage of the Vermont Annual Conference, which had convened in Springfield three years before. This school was "an outgrowth of the local Methodist society, which built a church in 1806."[5]

The spirit in which such schools "were devised, and established, and manned, and put in operation, was the spirit of a denominational faith. This faith (was) in general broad and magnanimous."[6] They freely received boys and girls with other affiliations,[7] and in

1. Three other schools were later established by the Baptists in Vermont. As the result of financial troubles, New Hampton (N. H.) Institution received permission from the New Hampshire Baptist State Conference to move to Fairfax, where it was re-opened in 1853. (Crocker: *op. cit.*, p. 551.) The founders of Lyndon Institute, chartered in 1867, were mostly of the Free Baptist faith. (Bush: *op. cit.*, p. 114.) Vermont Academy at Saxtons River, opened in 1876, was first agitated at the Vermont Baptist State Convention in 1869. (Crocker: *op. cit.*, p. 545.)

2. Bailey: *A Souvenir of the Seminary Memorial Window*, Including a History of Methodism in Newbury, Vt. and of Old Newbury Seminary, p. 88.

3. Bailey: *A Brief Sketch of Newbury Seminary.*

4. *Autobiography of Rev. Tobias Spicer*, pp. 118-121.

5. Baker: *Folklore of Springfield.* 6. Hulbert: *op. cit.*, p. 12.

7. In 1869, of 764 boys and girls with Baptist affiliations attending secondary schools in Vermont, only 112 were at academies created by the Baptist denomination. (Crocker: *op. cit.*, p. 545.)

organization and general character were similar to the other academies of the period.[1] In spite of the schools' religious connections, the boards were generally closed corporations. The conferences played little part in the actual running of the school. At Brandon the only help given seems to have been some contributions for furnishing the institute. At Newbury the conference recommended the course to be pursued, but exercised no further control. The Woodstock Association maintained merely a "fostering care" for the academies at Ludlow and Townshend as long as both were held to be within its territorial limits. The extent of its relationship is shown in the yearly minutes, which generally contained "some commendatory resolution, or favorable mention, and many times they appointed visiting committees for each school."[2]

On the other hand, the rules of the denominational academies naturally gave considerable attention to religious exercises and moral discipline. Emphasis was placed on theological and religious education, and distinct theological departments were sometimes organized.[3] Many graduates of these schools went directly from the institution to pastorates throughout the state. The religious complexion of the board was also a distinguishing feature. The first trustees of Black River Academy, for instance, "were nearly all Baptists and continued so through its entire existence . . . its teachers were nearly all Baptists."[4] The incorporating act of Troy Conference Academy designated "That this corporation shall consist of nine trustees, to be appointed by the Troy Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church."[5] And in 1853, the act incorporating Springfield Wesleyan

1. The spirit of cooperation in which Black River Academy was established illustrates the unprejudiced attitude of the community: "The zeal to accomplish and the willingness to aid in the good cause were not confined to members of the denomination who were to control the religious character of the institution, but all took a part in the good work." (Atherton: *op. cit.*, p. 13.)

2. Cutler: *op. cit.*, p. 16.

3. At New Hampton Institution and the Vermont Episcopal Institute in particular. At Newbury a small class in mental philosophy ("systematic theology": Bush, p. 119) expanded into a theological school known as the Newbury Biblical Institute. (Wells: *op. cit.*, p. 217.) The Institute closed in 1846, the work being eventually transferred to Boston University. According to Wells, "the oldest and most important Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal church in the United States had (thus) its humble origin" in the class at Newbury.

4. Crocker: *op. cit.*, p. 542.

5. *Acts*, October, 1834, pp. 74-76.

Seminary provided that "future appointments (to the board of trustees) shall be subject to the approval of the Vermont Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church."[1]

The incorporation of five denominational schools in the brief three year period between 1832-34 points to a religious stimulus of unusual significance. Although a wholesome spirit had characterized educational enterprises from the beginning, and due importance had been attached to religious exercises and the observance of the Sabbath, a wide-spread religious enthusiasm increased at this time the interest in matters pertaining to morality. An example is found in the records of the trustees of Bradford Academy for 1831: "The preceptor of this Academy shall not knowingly tolerate his pupils, either in school or out of it, in maintaining the doctrine of atheism, in calumniating the Bible and Christian religion, in inculcating immoral practices, in using profane or indecent languages."[2] Hardly a catalogue was issued but what called the attention of the parent to the advantages of an institution "situated in the midst of an intelligent and virtuous community, wholly removed from those scenes of dissipation, which too often allure the young from the path of rectitude, and are too well known, to need a recital here."[3] Even the manual labor movement, the popularity of which was at its height at the time, had a moral aspect. The character building value of self-help was widely extolled.

These institutions, it has been noted, were founded in towns whose interest in education took the substantial form of liberal offers for the location. This interest, combined with the support of the church, resulted in giving the schools a degree of permanence which makes them as a class stand out prominently among the academies of Vermont. Troy Conference Academy exists today (1930) as a private institution. In 1868 Newbury Seminary was merged with Springfield Wesleyan seminary to form a more centralized school at Montpelier. The name of the Leland Classical and English School was changed in 1848 to Leland Seminary and in 1862 to Leland and Gray Seminary. The school was known locally as Townshend Academy. This institution also exists as a corporate body, though a reorganization took place in 1919 whereby the property was leased to the town, and the local board of education assumed the responsibility

1. *Acts and Resolves*, 1853, p. 84. 2. Frost: *op. cit.*, p. 11.
3. *Catalogue of Thetford Academy*, 1838-1839, p. 11.

of continuing the school. One year before this, Derby Academy had made the transfer from private to public control. No record exists of the length of time that the Baptist school at Brandon existed; in 1866 the trustees leased the buildings to the consolidated school district of the town for the use of the grade schools. In 1867 the trustees of Black River Academy were authorized by legislative act to lease the property of the school to District No. 1 in the town. The board, however, continued to maintain their corporate organization and retained certain functions such as a voice in the selection of teachers.

NEWBURY SEMINARY

This boarding school had a vigorous career of thirty-four years, though handicapped by financial difficulties and lack of endowment. Appeals for public aid were frequent. "One means of raising funds was by the sale of scholarships. One hundred dollars constituted a scholarship and entitled its holder to the privilege of sending a student free of tuition."[1] The school was well patronized, however, and the income from tuitions enabled the school to pay off its obligations so that by 1853 it was free from debt. In 1836, soon after the school opened, 249 students registered in the summer and fall terms; in 1847-48 the aggregate attendance was 338; and in 1851 the high water mark was reached with a total attendance of 878 and a faculty composed of nine teachers. The boarding house had become self-supporting.

The laws of Newbury, as published in the first catalogue of the school, are of interest:

Deportment

A gentlemanly and ladylike deportment is at all times required of the boarders in their intercourse with each other, and in all their movements in and about the house.

Rude and indecent language, calling each other by improper names, or otherwise needlessly injuring each other's feelings; smoking in any part of the house; walking about house with hats on; boistrous talking and laughing, whistling, running, jumping, or making any other disturbance, or crowding the alleys and doors for conversation, in fine, all ungentlemanly conduct in and about the house is considered a breach of this rule.

Special attention shall be paid to cleanliness. Entering the house with dirty

1. Wells: *op. cit.*, p. 211.

feet, spitting on the floor and steps, making any unnecessary dirt in any department, dirty appearance of person, clothing, etc., are strictly forbidden.

Rooms

The scholars' rooms shall be considered as their homes, and each shall be accountable for any improper conduct in their respective rooms, or injury to them or furniture, unless they designate the agressor. They shall also see that their books, clothing, furniture, etc., are kept in their proper places, and their rooms, after they have set them in order in the morning, be at all times ready for inspection. In short, let the motto of all be, "a place for everything, and everything in its place." Let the following regulations be observed in relation to the lower rooms. Nos. 1 and 3 are not to be frequented by the students. No. 1 is to be kept for a parlor for the steward and family and officers of the institution; No. 2 is a common keeping room for the family, and for the students to introduce such company from abroad as may from time to time visit them. No. 3 is the private room for the steward's family. The kitchen is not to be frequented by the students, except for particular business, and none of either sex shall stop there any longer than is necessary to accomplish their business.

The young gentlemen will prepare the wood after it is brought into the yard, for warming their rooms. The young ladies will take care of their own clothes, except washing, and both ladies and gentlemen will set and keep in order their own rooms and have them ready for inspection by the breakfast hour.

Order of the Day

1. The bell will ring in the morning a little before sunrise, for rising, at which time the scholars will arise, wash and prepare for breakfast.

2. A warning bell will be rung a few minutes before meal, at which the young ladies and gentlemen will repair to their respective drawing rooms and arrange themselves in the order they sit at the table, and at ringing of the second bell, will proceed to the dining hall, and will retire in the same order, after the officers and strangers who may be present shall have gone out.

3. No scholar will be permitted to enter the closet or help himself to food between the regular meals.

4. If any scholar shall be unnecessarily absent from the regular meal, he will fast until the next; and food will not be provided to be taken out of the house except in special cases, at the discretion of the steward or stewardess.

5. Morning prayers immediately after breakfast, and evening prayers immediately after supper, and at 9 o'clock the students will retire to their rooms for the night and retire to rest before 10 o'clock, and have their lights and fire extinguished by that time; and no one will sleep out of his or her room without permission.

The causes for the close of the school in 1868 were varied. Wells mentions the failure of the Seminary to secure an endowment, and

antagonism at the "systematic training of clergy."[1] The school also was falling behind "in the march of intellect," and "its methods and apparatus were those of an earlier day." Competition from Springfield Wesleyan Seminary affected enrolment in both schools. The shifting of the boundaries of the conference also served to make the location of Newbury Seminary a less desirable one than it had been. For these reasons the two schools were merged to form a stronger and better centralized institution at Montpelier. This new school was chartered in 1865 as Vermont Conference Seminary and Female College;[2] later it was rechristened as the Vermont Methodist Seminary and then Montpelier Seminary, by which name it is known today.

Orange County Independent Grammar School

In contrast to the religious cast of such denominational schools, a corporation was chartered at Chelsea in 1833 with what seems to have been decidedly anti-clerical principles. It was called the Orange County Independent Grammar School, and though it apparently never had more than a legal existence, its charter provisions are unique. The act reads in part as follows:

1. Said Grammar School shall be independent of any religious denomination, or sect, whatever; shall in no way be subject to their control, nor rely upon their especial patronage; but shall be an independent and classical institution, for the instruction of youth, solely, in literature and science.

2. No clergyman of any denomination, whatever, while actually engaged in clerical duties, shall be a trustee, principal, or instructor, in said grammar school.

3. No books, designed to propagate and establish the peculiar and distinguishing principles and tenets of any religious denomination, shall be adopted, or used, as classics, in said Grammar School, or introduced, in any manner, therein, by the authority of the trustees, instructors, or any individual.

4. The buildings appropriated to said Grammar School, shall not be used for meetings, professedly, for religious instruction, other than that properly appertaining to the instruction pursued in, and the objects of, said Grammar School, as a literary and scientific institution; nor shall said buildings be used

1. Wells: *op. cit.*, p. 218.

2. The Female Collegiate Institute had been chartered in 1849, and opened in 1850 as a separate department at Newbury Seminary. In eighteen years it graduated 118 young women. The Institute was also transferred to Montpelier, continuing to maintain a separate legal existence.

for any other meeting, not properly connected with the promotion of science, and the progress of literature, among the members of the school.[1]

This organization may have been projected by individuals aiming to eliminate an unfortunate political element which they feared might operate against the success of a school of denominational character. "The democratic revolution which made Andrew Jackson president had in Vermont . . . a social side which included hostility to the Congregational clergy, who were then all conservative, politically Federalist and later Whig. The Baptist movement in Vermont during this period made great progress, and was mostly Democratic in Politics. . . ."[2] Orange county at this period generally went Democratic, but Chelsea itself remained predominantly Whig. Political feeling may have been so strong that the originators of a county school scheme felt it was safest to give the school a specifically non-sectarian character. It may have been felt, too, that sectarianism had no place in a system of schools provided for in a state constitution. Apparently there is no record of legislative debate over the granting of the charter.

Contribution of the Academy to the Training of Teachers for the Common Schools

Concord Academy and the Work of Samuel R. Hall

In 1823 Samuel Read Hall organized an academy at Concord which is generally recognized as the first normal school not only in Vermont, but in America.[3] Previous to this time there are recorded two other schools in the state where efforts had been made to meet the need of the common schools for trained teachers, but neither of these seems to have exerted more than a local and temporary influence.[4] The labors and writings of Dr. Hall, on the other hand, ini-

1. *Acts*, October, 1833, pp. 87-88.

2. Correspondence of John M. Comstock, statistical secretary, Vermont Congregational Conference.

3. Wright and Gardner: *Hall's Lectures on School-Keeping*, p. 30.

4. Jacob Eddy, the Quaker town clerk of Danby, taught a select school during the years 1785-1788 "expressly for the purpose of training young men for the vocation of teaching." (Williams: *History of Danby*, pp. 70 and 138.) Reference has been made to the school opened by Emma Willard in Middlebury in 1814. Mrs. Willard conducted this school for five years, which she afterwards describes as the period "when I began specially to prepare pupils for teachers." (Swift: *op. cit.*, p. 395.)

tiated a movement in Vermont, Massachusetts, New York and other states which before many years materialized into teacher-training courses in the secondary schools and into state normal schools.

Hall accepted the position of minister of the Congregational Church at Concord under certain specified conditions, among which was the following:

"11, That you allow me to establish & instruct a school such a portion of the year as I may find necessary or convenient not exceeding three fourths of each year and that I have the provides thereof to assist in my support . . ."[1]

The conditions were accepted and on March 11, 1823, Hall opened up in his own home what was first known as the Columbian School. This school soon moved into a two-story brick building erected for the purpose, and in November, 1823, was incorporated as Concord Academy.[2] The first record of the school is found in the following advertisement in the issue of the Danville (Vt.) "North Star" for May 20, 1823:

COLUMBIAN SCHOOL, CONCORD, VT.

The second term will commence on the third Tuesday (17th day) of June next. The school will be under the direction, and will be principally instructed by the Rev. Mr. Hall.

Books used in the school must be uniform. Hence arrangements are made so that they may be obtained at either of the stores in town.

Branches taught, if required, are the following:—Reading; Spelling; Defining; Geography (ancient and modern); History; Grammar; Rhetoric; Composition; Arithmetic; Construction of Maps; Theoretical Surveying; Astronomy; Natural Philosophy; Chemistry (without experiments); Logic; Moral Philosophy; Mental Philosophy, and General Criticism.

It is wished to have the languages excluded. This will not, however, be strictly adhered to.

TERMS: For Common School studies, $2. per term of 12 weeks. Other branches, from $2.50 to $4.

It is intended to have instruction particularly thorough, and hence an addi-

1. Wright and Gardner: *op. cit.*, p. 16.

2. An early interest in education on the part of the citizens of Concord is seen in their application in 1798 for an act to establish a county grammar school in that town. The committee reported, however, "that it is their opinion that the present is too early a period to establish a county grammar school in the county of Essex." (*Journal of the General Assembly*, 1798, p. 190.) At the time of Hall's advent, the town had a population of 806 people. (Thompson: *Gazetteer of Vermont*, 1824.)

tional instructor will be employed, when the School amounts to more than 20. Board obtained near the School-room, on reasonable terms.

Application may be made to Mr. Lyman E. Dewey, Mr. John Barnet, or Mr. Hall.

Concord, Vt. May 14, 1823.

Stone believes that the elementary subjects were included for the children whom Hall admitted to this school "for the demonstration and practice purposes" in connection with his plan to make of the school at the outset a laboratory for training teachers.[1] Barnard had reported in 1851 that Hall "admitted a class of young pupils . . . to be used as a Model School, in the instruction of which he intended to illustrate to those attending to become teachers, both how children should be governed and taught."[2]

In 1829, Hall published his *Lectures on School-Keeping*, the "first professional book for teachers published in America."[3] The lectures, based on his experiences at Concord Academy, dealt with "the science of teaching and the mode of governing a school with success,"[4] and exhibit a sound comprehension of the problems involved and workable methods by which they might be solved.[5] The book was widely

1. Stone: *The First Normal School in America*, p. 267.

2. Quoted by Wright and Gardner: *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. However, no corroboration of the use of a Model School is found in the only existing record of the school (Perrin: First Record Book of the Concord Academy). This record book gives occasional items on tuition and lists the names of 224 pupils who attended the school during the first nine terms. Barnard's contemporary interest in education leads one to believe, however, that the claim is not without foundation.

3. "Ten thousand copies of this treatise were purchased by the acting superintendent of the state of New York; an equal number were recommended by an educational committee in Kentucky . . ." (Stone: *op. cit.*, p. 268.) The third edition included a lecture on the construction of schoolhouses. (For bibliography of the published writings of Samuel Hall, see Wright and Gardner: *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.)

4. Hall: *Lectures on School-Keeping*. Preface.

5. In these early lectures Hall anticipated such later pedagogical and psychological problems as "individual differences, vocational education, teacher training, teacher qualifications, public relations, adequacy of teachers' activities, and character education." (Wright and Gardner: *op. cit.*, p. 3.) These lectures "probably more nearly approach the modern problem method of studying education than do any of the earlier books written on education." (*Ibid.*, p. 21.) In summarizing his contributions to education, these authors say: "As the founder of the first Normal School in America, the writer of the first book on education in this country, and as the pioneer in the use of the blackboard,

read in Vermont and neighboring states; in pointing out the need of systematic training in an occupation dignified by the term of science, and in providing basic materials for such a training, Hall's activities opened up the way for specific work in this field in other institutions.

State normal schools did not make their appearance in Vermont until 1866, yet in the meantime the interest awakened by Dr. Hall's activities had taken form in lecture courses in the private academies designed to give practical aid to students of both sexes who intended to enter the vocation of teaching. In 1833, Cavendish Academy announced in its annual catalogue that "Students wishing to prepare for College, for teaching, or for business, may expect to find here every facility for prosecuting their studies. . . ." At this school the next year, lectures were given in both the fall and spring terms "on Chemistry and School Keeping."[1] The catalogue of Burr Seminary for 1836 contained the announcement that "Those who wish to qualify as teachers will receive special attention." This same year lectures were given at Black River "especially for the benefit of those wishing to qualify for teaching."[2] In 1837, lectures "on the principles and practice of Teaching" were offered at this school.[3]

Such lectures were probably intermittent and fragmentary in character, and no reference is found before 1840 of any "teachers classes" where organized instruction would be possible, but they show that the need for specific training had at least begun to be recognized in various places in the state.

Education of Young Women

In the last chapter it was noted that early in the century girls as well as boys were admitted to the academies and grammar schools.

the local method of teaching geography and the chronological plan in history study, Hall's fame as an important educator is substantially fixed." (*Ibid.*, p. 30.)

1. *Catalogue of the Teachers and Students of Cavendish Academy for the year ending November, 1834.* James Garvin was then principal. Previous to this time, students in various academies had sometimes served as assistants. In one school, for example, "a certain number of the more advanced students (acted) in rotation . . . as assistants in the lectures on Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Botany, Etc." (Prospectus of Vermont Classical Seminary, 1830.) This was not done to provide practice teaching as much as to relieve the teaching load.

2. *Catalogue of Black River Academy*, Ludlow, Nov. 1836.

3. *Catalogue of Black River Academy*, Ludlow, 1837.

This extension of educational privileges was based in part on the fact that the income of the preceptor usually depended on the extent of the school's patronage, which could be increased by admitting younger scholars into the elementary branches or "departments." The formation of such preparatory classes was also justified on the grounds of the inefficiency of the district schools. Moreover, the academy had a standing in the community which made it seem to many parents a more desirable institution than the common school, and the academy was not loath to take advantage of this attitude. By 1820 the academy was well-established as a co-educational institution, and by 1840 the enrolment of "ladies" often equalled or surpassed that of "gentlemen."

These young women generally took the English subjects, or pursued the ornamental branches which were a development of the period. On the other hand, the curricula of the female seminaries founded between 1820-40 indicate that there was also a demand for schools where serious-minded young women could have the same classical and higher English training as the young men.[1]

In the co-educational academies prevailing sentiment held that boys and girls should be separated into more or less distinct departments. Female teachers, preceptresses and assistants were employed to teach the girls and take charge of the girls' boarding departments, while the duties of the principal or preceptor were confined to executive supervision and the instruction of the young men. In the catalogues of this period the names of the "ladies" always appeared on a separate list. As noted above, instruction in the Ladies Department was confined mainly to English and ornamental subjects . . . chiefly music and various kinds of artwork popular at that time.[2] Such differences in academic interest also tended to a formal separation of the sexes in recitations and other school exercises. The regulations of Newbury Seminary and Troy Conference Academy in the thirties illustrate current attitudes toward the segregation of the sexes. At the

1. See Curriculum at Middlebury Female Seminary, 1833.

2. For half a century the ornamental branches enjoyed great popularity, though subject to occasional criticism for their superficiality. (See Orcutt: *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.) Educational tendencies in female boarding-schools at a slightly later period were satirized at the Free Convention held at Rutland in 1858. (Walker, Mrs. D. M. F.: *Proceedings of the Free Convention . . . 1858*, pp. 141-143.)

former school the following rule governed intercourse between the "ladies" and "gentlemen" in 1834:

"The two sexes will not associate together in walking or riding, or visit each other's rooms; but when a gentleman would see a lady, he will apply to the master or mistress of the house where the lady boards, who will if they please, accommodate the parties with a drawing room for the desired interview. The above law is also to regulate the conduct of the students of both sexes in their intercourse with those not belonging to the school, unless special permission to do otherwise be obtained from the Principal; or, in his absence, from the steward. It is provided, further, that brothers and sisters, by leave of the Principal, may walk or ride in company."[1]

In the 1839 catalogue of Troy Conference Academy, the following rules appear:

21. No male student is permitted to visit or enter that part of the building assigned exclusively to the females, except those in the immediate employment of the steward, or for the purpose of attending recitations.

22. The two sexes will not be permitted to associate together in riding or walking, nor to visit each others rooms, nor to stand talking in the halls or elsewhere. If any student have a relative in the institution whom he or she may wish to see, permission must be obtained of the Principal or Preceptress. Brothers and sisters may be permitted to ride or walk together, provided it always be alone.[2]

Occasionally a more liberal attitude was taken. In his "Reminiscences of School Life," Orcutt recalls that "the system of government adopted at Thetford (1843-55) was radically different from that at vogue at Kimball Union. . . . Both were mixed schools. The young women (at Thetford) boarded in the same families and recited in the same classes with the young men. At Thetford the aim of the principal was to allow them to mingle socially under proper regulations and restraints, while at Kimball Union they were forbidden to mingle socially."[3]

The presence of young women in the boarding academy contributed elements of great social value to the school, and its character as an intellectual institution was raised by the awareness that their mental powers were comparable to those of their brothers.[4] In this re-

1. *Laws of Newbury Seminary*, 1834.
2. *Catalogue of Troy Conference Academy*, 1839.
3. Orcutt: *op. cit.*, p. 108.
4. Weaver: "The Academy and the World." (In *Semi-Centennial of Black*

spect, the contribution of the Vermont academies was that of the academy elsewhere.

The acceptance of the co-educational idea was accompanied by a rise in the number of secondary schools established for young women exclusively. The following schools were incorporated during this period:

1823 Windsor Female Academy (re-chartered)
1824 St. Johnsbury Female Academy
1828 The Female School Association (Middlebury)
1830 Newbury High School
1835 Brookfield Female Seminary
1836 Burlington Female Academy

Union of Manual Labor with Education

One of the chief concerns of the American Education Society, which in the early thirties had several branches in Vermont, was the encouragement of young men fitting for the ministry. The Society had interested itself in the experiment, being carried on in several places in the eastern United States, of connecting manual labor with education, an experiment which at first was being tried out chiefly, though not exclusively, in theological and denominational institutions. In September, 1829, in compliance with the request of "an Association of Students in the Seminary for Mechanical Labour" (at Andover Theological Seminary), the Rev. E. Cornelius, secretary of the Society, had delivered a discourse on the "Union of Study with Useful Labor," in which he referred to the subject as one "deeply connected with the interests of learning and religion."[1] That the physical benefits also were not overlooked is patent in Mr. Cornelius' reference to the system as "the union . . . of thorough exercise with study."[2]

Such a system of self-help attracted a good deal of attention during the period between 1829-1834, and was tried out in several Vermont academies of theological or denominational character. The first reference to the subject is found in the manuscript records of the meeting held by the trustees of Burr Seminary on December 16, 1829,

River Academy, p. 56.) Also Hitchcock: *Black River Academy—Her Place in the Community and in the State.* (*Ibid.*, p. 60.)

1. American Education Society: *Quarterly Register*, Vol. II, Nov. 1829, pp. 57-70.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

soon after the legislature had chartered the school.[1] Among other topics considered were those of "manual labor and other corporal exercises." On March 15, 1833, the first announcement of the school contains the following information:

> A more important and efficient aid, it is believed, will be derived from the labor of the students. For the purpose of agricultural labor, a lot of about thirty acres of land is attached to the Institution, a considerable part of which will be appropriated to tillage and gardening. Provision has also been made for the erection of a work-shop, to be furnished with valuable machinery, propelled by a water power, and affording important facilities for the successful prosecution of various branches of mechanical labor. The steward of the Seminary is himself an experienced and skilful mechanic, and it will be his duty to superintend the operators of the shop, to make the necessary contracts, to instruct the inexperienced, and to make arrangements for the profitable employment of all, during the hours of labor.[2]

At first the system seems to have worked out quite favorably. In the catalogue dated October, 1833, the statement is made that "During the last term, the aggregate amount of the earnings of the students was about $275.00 by labor performed for the Seminary, and probably not less than $160.00 by labor for citizens in the vicinity." It did not long prove successful, however, and was soon abandoned. The reasons for its discontinuance as well as the ends it served are given in a later report of the clerk of the board:

"The Board, according to the popular theory of the day, thought it advisable to adopt the manual labor system into the plan of conducting the Seminary. The very encouraging accounts that were published respecting the success of this system, led the Board to expect results from it which, practically, it was found impossible to realize. . . . To find Stock—Pay for the labor; and depend upon the sales for compensation . . . was found utterly impracticable." Though in some respects an unfortunate blunder, in others it was fortunate, for "on the establishment of this system of manual labor was founded a plea to the Churches, and to Christians abroad to help us in a matter, which we then thought would greatly assist young men in their attempts to obtain an education, and thereby greatly relieve

1. Anderson Mss. In 1829 a work-shop had been "erected for the benefit of the students belonging to the College (Middlebury), but the system (had) not yet been carried into execution." (*Quarterly Register*, Nov. 1829, p. 63.)

2. Broadside on Burr Seminary issued by Alexander Proudfit, President, and James Anderson, Clerk. Manchester, March 15, 1833.

the churches from the burden of sustaining them while preparing to preach the Gospel."[1]

The manual labor system was also tried out at Newbury Seminary and at Troy Conference Academy. Section 6 of the act incorporating Newbury Seminary states:

> It is hereby further enacted, That all necessary buildings of the institution, together with a farm, known by the name of the Lovell Farm, to be connected therewith, for the purpose of uniting manual labor with education, with a library and philosophical apparatus, be exempt from taxation. . . .[2]

A seminary farm was bought with the idea of affording needy students a chance to pay part of their expenses in labor upon it, but it did not meet expectations and was sold. When Troy Conference Academy was incorporated in 1834, the legislature also exempted the lands and buildings from taxation. In the school's catalogue for 1839, the information is given that:

> There is a farm connected with the institution which will be cultivated under the direction of the steward, and will afford employment to a small extent to such students as may wish to aid themselves in meeting their expenses by manual labor. The manual labor system will be extended as soon as the patrons of the institution will furnish the necessary means.

The above notice leaves it uncertain as to whether the plan was actually tried out at Poultney or not. The serious financial difficulties of this school during its early history make it improbable. Here, as at other schools, it was found that the maintenance of the system involved capital outlays that the young institutions could not afford.

The Lyceum Movement

The same period (c. 1829-1834) witnessed the beginning of another movement which had its sources outside of the state, though its influence on secondary school education in Vermont was more widespread than that of the manual labor experiment. The lyceum system was originated by Josiah Holbrook, who personally attended the educational meetings and conventions where town and county ly-

1. Anderson: *Historical discourse presented at the annual meeting*, July, 1860. In 1842, Thompson reported that the system "proved here, as it has almost everywhere else, unsuccessful, and was soon abandoned." (Thompson: *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil and Statistical*, p. 168.)

2. *Acts*, Oct. 1833. Chap. 43, p. 90.

ceums were organized. The purpose of these organizations was "to combine the discussion of scientific subjects with that of education," and to procure scientific apparatus with which to illustrate lectures on these topics.[1]

Holbrook's intention was that the community lyceums should intimately associate themselves with the schools. The connection was actually formed, and the beneficial effects were immediately seen in the use of apparatus of various sorts for teaching certain subjects.[2] The relations between the school and the public lyceum may be judged from the announcement at Royalton that "a Lyceum has been established in town, and means are in train to obtain an extensive apparatus, of which, by the fundamental articles of the Lyceum, the Academy is to have the free use in the course of its public instruction."[3]

Accounts clearly point to this period as a time when trustees seriously concerned themselves with the problem of providing suitable scientific equipment for schools. In 1830, when the Academy was built which later became the Lamoille County Grammar School, it was supplied with "a good chemical and philosophical apparatus, all by voluntary subscription."[4] The same year Marshall Conant's select school in Woodstock was equipped with a "large map of the heavens, globes, an orrery, a cometarium, quadrant, and semicircle, and some other instruments were furnished to aid in astronomical and

1. The movement was greatly aided in Vermont by Thomas H. Palmer of Pittsford. In 1829 he established a lyceum, with weekly lectures, in that town, and later "caused a meeting to be held at Montpelier for the purpose of inquiring into the best means of introducing these lyceums into effective operation through every county in the state." (Bush: *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.) A good statement of the purposes of the lyceum in Vermont is found in William Nutting's "An Address to the Orange County Lyceum at their First Meeting, June 23, 1831."

2. By 1830 Holbrook had provided equipment which related "to the first elements of geometry, arithmetic, geography, natural philosophy, chemistry and astronomy." (*American Journal of Education*, No. 42, Jan. 1830, pp. 67-69.)

3. *Catalogue of Royalton Academy*, 1830. "Whenever Lyceums have been established in connexion with academies, a reciprocal and harmonious action has uniformly arisen between them, greatly to the benefit of both." (*American Journal of Education*, No. 36, December, 1828, p. 715.) At Royalton, as at other places, the community lyceum later merged with the school lyceum and sold its apparatus to the latter.

4. Whiting: *History of the Town of Johnson*, pp. 47-48.

mathematical instruction."[1] When the Caledonia County Grammar School at Lyndon was erected in 1831, "the pride of the school was its laboratory for experiments in chemistry and natural philosophy. . . . (The apparatus) was the subject of many entries in the old records . . . all breakage must be made good by pupils and regular inventories taken by trustees."[2] Soon after Black River Academy was incorporated, the trustees turned their attention to ways and means of procuring apparatus. A petition was circulated, and by 1836 at least, the institution was furnished with a "complete and very convenient Chemical, Philosophical and Astronomical Apparatus, and an elegantly mounted refracting Telescope."[3] The examples quoted indicate contemporary interest in the subject and the nature of the illustrative materials then commonly used.

The lyceum movement had another side which should not be overlooked. Holbrook and Palmer were interested in advancing the general interests of education, and both schools and towns established lyceums for lectures and debates on practical and cultural subjects. On August 20, 1833, the trustees of Rutland County Grammar School voted to establish "Castleton Seminary Lyceum," and "that tickets of admission be furnished to the scholars at twelve and a half cents per quarter, to individuals not connected with the school at fifty cents a year, and to families at one dollar a year."[4] Speaking of this association, Clark stated that it "has been the forum of many youthful forensic efforts, and the starting point from whence a large number of the . . . alumni of Rutland County Grammar School and Castleton Seminary gained . . . power of concentration and expression of thought. . . ."[5] "Weekly or fortnightly compulsory forensic lyceums" were organized immediately after the founding of The Leland Classical and English School. "At these, speeches were prepared and declaimed by each member of the student body during the term."[6] The lyceum became a feature of many other academies and grammar schools and greatly stimulated the work in public speaking and debates. In some institutions it survived until late in the century.

1. Dana: *History of Woodstock*, p. 214.
2. Walker, Mrs. H.: *op. cit.*
3. *Catalogue of Black River Academy*, 1836.
4. *Report of the Proceedings commemorating the One-Hundredth Anniversary of . . . the Rutland County Grammar School . . .* 1787-1887, p. 86.
5. Clark: *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29. 6. Cutler: *op. cit.*, p. 20.

The American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy

In 1820, Captain Alden Partridge, a native of Norwich and a graduate of Dartmouth and West Point, opened in his native town an academy which has been described as "the parent home of a new system of education."[1] The basic nature of Captain Partridge's system is indicated by the title of the institution—an education in classical studies and practical arts, associated with training in military science and tactics. His educational policy was based in part on the constitution of the United States, which vested the military defence of the country "in the great mass of American Citizens."[2] Besides this belief in a citizen-soldiery, however, Partridge strongly felt that practical military exercises should be introduced into seminaries of learning generally, "were they of no other use than to give to the students a good figure, a manly and noble demeanour, and, what is of more importance, to render them healthy and vigorous."[3]

That Captain Partridge's educational theories were not controlled by the specialized view-point of the military enthusiast is evident from his criticism of prevalent practices. In a lecture on the subject delivered in 1820, he declared himself thus:

> The system of education adopted in the United States seems to me to be defective in many respects: First: It is not sufficiently practical, nor properly adapted to the various duties an American citizen may be called upon to discharge. Second: Another defect in the present system is the entire neglect in all our principal seminaries of physical education, or the cultivation and improvement of the physical powers of the student. Third: Another defect in our system is the amount of idle time allowed the student. Fourth: A fourth defect is the allowing to students of the wealthier class too much money, thereby inducing habits of extravagance and dissipation highly injurious to themselves and also to the Seminaries of which they are members. Fifth: Is the requiring all students to pursue the same course of study. Sixth: In the prescribing the length of time for completing, as it is termed, the course of education. By this means the good scholar is placed nearly on a level with the sluggard, for whatever may be his exertions, he can gain nothing with respect to time, and the latter has in consequence of this, less stimulus for exertion.[4]

1. Aldrich and Holmes: *History of Windsor County*, p. 488.
2. Ellis: *Norwich University*, 1819-1911. *Her History, Her Graduates, Her Roll of Honor*, p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

These liberal ideas the captain converted into actual practice in the academy at Norwich. The practical or scientific character of the course of instruction, as given in the first catalogue, is evident:

> The course of education at this seminary will embrace the following branches of literature, science and practical instruction, viz: the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and the English Languages: Composition, Rhetoric, Logic, Elocution: History, Geography, including the use of maps and globes, Ethics, Metaphysics: the elements of Natural and Political Law, the Law of Nations, the Constitution of the United States and of the States severally, Military law, the elements of Chemistry, Electricity and Optics: Arithmetic, the construction and use of Logarithms, Bookkeeping, Algebra, Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Planometry, Sterometry, Mensuration of heights and distances by Trigonometry and also Geometrically, practical Geometry generally, including particularly, Surveying and Levelling, Conic Sections, the use of the Barometer, with its application to measuring the altitudes of mountains and other eminences: Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Astronomy, Navigation, Civil Engineering, including the construction of roads, canals, locks and bridges: Architecture, Agriculture, Music.[1]

The engineering course was supplemented by practical field work, and on the pedestrian excursions which were a feature of the academy, instruction in surveying was carried out. The courses in applied mathematics and science, agriculture and bookkeeping exemplify Captain Partridge's progressive attitude toward the problem of relating the school to the actual needs of life. When Spanish was added to the curriculum in 1825, the following practical reasons were given: "As to the knowledge of Spanish, it is daily becoming of the first consequence to the citizens of the United States. Six independent republics have recently been established in South America. From their geographical position and form of government, our commercial and political relations cannot fail of being an intimate, interesting and momentous character . . . all tending to render their language ultimately next in importance to our own."[2]

The second and third defects in educational practice, as seen by Captain Partridge, receive constructive attention in the drills, practice marches and pedestrian tours. A contemporary report shows that these daily drills, military "tacticks," etc. "do not occupy any part of that time which would otherwise be devoted to study, but are so arranged as to form a healthful substitute for those hours of leisure, the objects of which are often so fatally misapplied in most of our publick seminaries of learning. By this means, instead of devoting

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 13. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

themselves to useless recreation, they receive a very competent exercise for the extension of their physical powers, and at the same time are acquiring a knowledge upon subjects of the greatest utility to their future advancement in life."[1]

The fifth and sixth "defects" were also in part remedied. In the prospectus issued in 1825 announcing the removal of the school to Middletown, Conn., the numbers of students are given who up to that time had engaged in the study of various branches. The report clearly indicates that many of the subjects were elective, and that each student was allowed to progress at his own speed through a specified course.

As viewed against the educational background of his day, Captain Partridge's "Academy" was a distinct departure from type and it is difficult to trace the effects of his theories, if any there were, on secondary school method in Vermont. Little attention was given to physical education until late in the academy period. Subject-matter remained largely theoretical in character, even in the English departments of the academies and grammar schools. Certainly the military method of approach to the problem of discipline was not carried out elsewhere. The American Literary, Scientifick and Military Academy was based on a higher school age,[2] a more highly selected student body, and the personality and theories of a single unusual individual. The school was a private undertaking under the complete control of Captain Partridge, who did not seek a charter of incorporation from the state. Its educational program was too extensive, and its rates too high,[3] to keep its service within the predomi-

1. *A Journal of an Excursion, made by the Corps of Cadets of the A. L. S. & M. Academy, Norwich, Vt., under command of Capt. A. Partridge, June, 1824*, pp. 7-8.

2. "Eleven or twelve years of age is believed to be as young as one can enter with advantage to himself." (Catalogue of Academy, 1823, p. 10.) The academy also prepared "young gentlemen" for any college or university in the country, "either as Freshmen, or one or two years in advance."

3. The expenses, as given in the 1823 catalogue, were as follows:

Board per annum, $78 to $91
Tuition, excepting the Hebrew and French languages,
Fencing and Musick, $40 per annum.
Tuition in the Hebrew and French languages, and fencing,
$5 per quarter for each.
Room rent, $10 per annum.

Nine instructors composed the faculty in 1823.

nantly local limits of the typical Vermont academy.[1] The advanced nature of his views and criticisms on education (applicable in Vermont as elsewhere), the effective though brief contribution of the Academy while he remained at Norwich, and his connection with the founding and early history of Norwich University, a later outgrowth of the school, entitle Captain Partridge, however, to a worthy and permanent place in the educational history of the state.[2]

Burlington High School[3]

For thirteen years previous to the incorporation of the Burlington High School in October, 1829, this northern town conducted an academy whose origin was not unlike that of the public high schools first established nearly thirty years later. In December, 1813, three of the eight school districts set off in 1809 were consolidated into what was known as the "Village School District" in order that a "school more advantagious and more beneficial to the public" might be maintained "in a central location." This district, which was organized February 2, 1814, elected a prudential committee which was authorized to plan for a school house. A lot was purchased, and after considerable financial difficulty a building was erected at a cost of $3403.25. At a District meeting held in July, 1816, it was "voted to have the school for the ensuing year, to be sustained by a small tuition charged to the scholars belonging to the District, those outside paying more, and the balance to be defrayed by a tax on the Grand List." The academy was opened in September of that year.

1. Local influences entered into the founding of the school to some degree. There were some well-to-do residents of Norwich who were anxious to have Captain Partridge locate the well-advertised school in their native town. The original subscription paper, under date of Oct. 20, 1817, contains the names of ten citizens who pledged the total sum of $5200. (Aldrich & Holmes: *op. cit.*, p. 488.)

2. Captain Partridge also took a leading part in the proposals which resulted in the establishment of Newbury Seminary. August 13, 1832, he and D. A. A. Buck addressed the New Hampshire conference at Lyndon "on the subject of founding and maintaining a literary institution within its borders." (Bush: *op. cit.*, p. 118.)

3. The material in this section is based on Charles E. Allen's paper: "Sketch of the Burlington Academy and High School, from its Establishment in 1815 to date." (In *Proceedings of the Vermont Antiquarian Society*, Burlington, Vermont, April 1897 to April 1900.)

The by-laws and regulations of the school provided that it should be divided into three departments. "In the lower room were the Primary scholars. In the upper were those students who desired to pursue the higher branches, not usually taught in the common schools.[1] Each room had a teacher, while five visitors, besides the Prudential Committee, were appointed to supervise the instruction."

With the growth of population, the town was re-districted in 1829, provisions were made for primary and intermediate instruction in the several districts, and as a high school for females had been established by private enterprise,[2] it was voted that "the Academy should be continued as a High School alone for young men and boys." This arrangement was carried into effect in that year. The scope of instruction is indicated by the announcement, on the part of the trustees of the reorganized institution, "that the school of the boy ought to be a preparation for the world . . . and that its course of instruction was to embrace all the higher branches, so that the pupil would be so far prepared for the liberal professions as well as for the active pursuits of life."

Burlington High School presents an interesting example of the privately managed academy established through purely public influences.[3] Its organization, on the basis of unionizing districts and the defraying of expenses (in part) by taxing the Grand List, anticipated

1. The higher branches were taught in two departments, "one for the young ladies, the other for the older boys." The presence of the University of Vermont in the same town undoubtedly stimulated the teaching of these branches, and furnished a convenient supply of instructors.

2. Incorporated as the Burlington Female Academy in 1836.

3. A somewhat analogous situation later existed in the town of Georgia. While the district was building a schoolhouse in 1827 for its own use, it was suggested "that a second story might be super-added for the select school, which had now come to be considered a necessary and established institution of the town. The district consented with the understanding that the extra expense should be met by subscription and that the building when completed should be and remain forever the property of the District and subject to its control." (Aldrich: *History of Franklin and Grand Isle Counties*, pp. 586-587.) The higher branches were taught with much success in this department, which was supported by tuition and controlled by a prudential committee appointed by citizens of the town. Like Burlington Academy, the Select School was later (in 1838) turned into an academy, though disagreement as to the site of the reorganized institution in this case resulted in a withdrawal of support and a discontinuance of the academy until 1852.

the high school movement which waited until the forties for popular support in any other community.[1]

Burr Seminary

The early history of Burr Seminary, incorporated in 1829, illustrates well the methods used and the difficulties involved in bringing an academy into being.

This school was the first endowed institution in the state.[2] Joseph Burr, a resident and merchant of Manchester, had left a bequest, the terms of which read:

> I give and bequeath, Ten Thousand Dollars, the interest thereof annually, forever, hereafter to be appropriated and expended in educating in the aforesaid Village of Manchester, *Poor Needy and Pious* youth preparatory to their entering on Theological Study, or to their being received under the charge of the American or other education Society.

The bequest was made conditional on the raising of an additional sum of $10,000 within five years. For some time, however, nothing was done. In the first approaches for money, many expressions of good will were received, "though often mixed with those of doubt and distrust."[3] Nevertheless, "the matter lay with interest in the minds of the people, especially of the more intelligent part," and in the fall of 1829 a public meeting was called attended by the leading men of the community. At this meeting, two matters were argued: "I. The importance of the proposed institution to the interests of learning and religion; and II. The benefits which its establishment would confer upon us, in various ways, as a community. . . ."[4]

At the next meeting

> a subscription Paper had been prepared, which with Pen and Ink, was brought in and placed upon a small table in the middle of the room. Each one that came in took his seat in silence. All appeared thoughtful, and sat around oppressed with the responsibility they were about to assume. To go forward seemed a formidable undertaking. To decline seemed like the sacrifice of a

1. Burlington High School was the second academy to be called by that name, the Rutland County Grammar School having been re-incorporated as the Vermont Classical High School in 1828.

2. Students at Thetford Academy were aided by the funds of a charitable society, but the school itself was not actually endowed.

3. Anderson, James: *Historical discourse presented* . . . July, 1860. (Ms.)

4. *Ibid.*

benefit too great to relinquish. For a long time they sat without a movement, weighing seriously the action now to be taken. To give, or not to give? And if to give, to what extent. What sum to put down, what would be expected. What would be considered liberal and just? It was a scene for a painter. No one moved. No one was bold enough to lead off. But all sat in a posture of doubt and indecision, not unlike that of the Sons of Jacob when the old Father sallied them saying "Why look ye one upon another? Let us go down into Egypt and buy corn!"

But in this solemn pause in our proceedings, and while it seemed doubtful whether anyone would move in the matter, a gentleman present, perceiving the dilemma, and with a view to help us out of our difficulty, rose up and of his own accord, stepped into the middle of the room, took up the little table on which the subscription paper lay, and carried it and set it down directly before a gentleman, to whom as he thought, the honor belonged of putting his hand first in order to a paper, that was to decide the destiny of the Burr Seminary. This very unexpected, but adroit movement brought matters to a crisis. All eyes were now turned in this direction. There was some hesitancy, but the challenge was met with a subscription of Five Hundred Dollars ($500). . . . Thus the ground being broken, and the spell of inaction dissolved, others proceeded in their turn, to make their subscriptions . . .[1]

About $7000 was raised during the next year. A committee was then appointed to appeal to the public and to the churches of Vermont. This entreaty was based on the benevolent character and charitable design of the school, and finally the requisite amount of money was obtained. Other financial difficulties arose, however. The brick ordered for the seminary building was discovered to be unfit for use, and it was found that to the seven thousand dollars originally appropriated for the erection of buildings (exclusive of the workshop), four or five thousand dollars more would have to be added. When the first principal, Rev. Lyman Coleman, came to take charge, the building was incomplete, the funds still greatly deficient, and in the winter of 1832-33 he wandered "over the hills and mountains of the state to solicit aid in behalf of the institution."[2] Through such private and public effort and sacrifice, and in such a state of uncertainty and perplexity the seminary was established and its career inaugurated.

The educational labors of Lyman Coleman, Joseph Wickham and William Burnham, elsewhere revealed, throw considerable light on the subsequent history of the institution. References to the seminary also frequently occur throughout this study. It is well to include

1. Anderson: *op. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*

here, however, the tentative original plan of the school as preserved in the handwriting of James Anderson, who was elected clerk of the board:

I. The Principal to have the use of the Dwellin, Barn, Garden, Orchard and lands together with 300 dollars for his Salary, together with the avails from Future . . . 25 scholars(?).

II. The Seminary Building shall be for the use of the School without Charge to the Principal. The avails of Room Rent to go into the funds of the Board for repairs.

III. The Principal may have the use of the Library & apparatus for the Seminary—he being responsible for the same, and returning them in good order.

IV. The ordinary expenses of the Seminary for fuel, lights, window glass, etc. to be charged as incidentals in the Bills, as [heretofore?].

V. All applicants for admission to the Seminary shall be subjected to a thorough examination as to standing as scholars but especially as to their Moral Character and habits of subordination.

VI. No student will be allowed to form any connexion with other students under the name of a League of Honour(?) or any other name for the purpose of countenancing vice or any kind of Disorder in the Seminary—on pain of expulsion at the discretion of the Teacher.

VII. Every Student on his admission to the seminary shall sign a solemn declaration of his purpose to obey the rules and regulations of the seminary and to treat his Instructors at all times both in word and deed, with becoming respect.

VIII. The exercises of the Seminary shall open in the morning with reading of the scriptures and prayer & close in the evening with singing & prayer—all to be present.

IX. Students to attend public worship in a body—to move from the Seminary under the charge of a Teacher who shall sit with and superintend their Conduct . . . and return in the same order. Students to occupy one side of the Gallery.

X. One Teacher shall occupy a Room in the Seminary Building and exercise a watchful inspection over the conduct of the students.

XI. To carry out the design of Mr. Burr it is decreed that one dollar per week shall be appropriated to such pious students as may be approved by the executive committee as suitable persons to receive assistance from the fund—including the price of their Tuition, and in such numbers as the state of the fund will justify. (Students of this class to be placed on probation.)

XII. No Students from abroad will be permitted to be absent from his place on the Sabbath except by Special permission of his Instructor—and no Student having his residence in the seminary building will be permitted to go down to the Village without asking and obtaining license so to do.

Order is Heavens first Law.[1]

1. Anderson: Plan of Burr Seminary. (Ms.) 1829 (?).

It will be seen that Burr Seminary was founded for fundamentally religious purposes. At the same time that this school was being organized, the Baptist Convention was pledging its patronage to other institutions, the first one of which was incorporated at Brandon in 1832. Both schools were originally based on the needs of the church for a trained ministry. Both became in actuality non-sectarian schools with emphasis on this aim, but not exclusive emphasis. Both schools were made possible by public subscription and support. The difference between Burr Seminary and the institutions at Brandon, Ludlow, Newbury and Townshend lay in the fact that the former school was the outgrowth of a private interest (expressed in an endowment) while the latter schools were the outcome of denominational policy.

Period 1840-1860 (70). Rapid Growth in Number of Academies Chartered. Coincident Rise of the Public High School. Beginnings of Academic Decline

For five years after Phillips Academy was incorporated at Danville in 1840, no new institutions appeared in Vermont. Then began a twenty-five year period which witnessed a great expansion in the private secondary school movement. Between 1840 and 1860 forty-four academies were chartered, and in the next decade, fourteen more.[1] The movement reached its crest in the four years 1849-1853, when twenty-five schools were incorporated. After 1870 an abrupt decline set in. The drift of population to the northward is reflected in the fact that, whereas between 1820-1839 only 14 academies had been chartered in the seven northern counties to 21 in the six southern, between 1840-1859 the north had incorporated 25 institutions and the south only 19.

The acceleration in the academy movement during this period may be attributed to several factors. The distinctly rural population of Vermont was steadily increasing, and by 1850 the small communities of the state had not begun to experience that population drainage which soon was to make the support of local academies an almost im-

1. Five academies were founded during the Civil War period.

possible task. In the middle of the century these towns were at the height of their prosperity. Only a few public high schools had been organized in the larger centers, and the bulk of the population, scattered in the 200 or more small towns of the state, still turned to the academy to supply their educational needs. Strong traditions had by this time been built up, which placed the academy in a favorable light. Intimate relationships between the academy and the town had been established. Local pride, the corporate character of the institution, the necessity of keeping the academy going in order to obtain the revenue of school lands—these were factors which kept even the weaker academies in operation. The prejudice of parents against sending their children away to urban centers also operated, at a time when state control of secondary schools was still in its infancy, to maintain the prestige of the academy in the popular mind and so insure the success of such schools as to make new establishments a safe venture and the normal method of supplying new needs. Testimonials are also frequent to the waves of educational enthusiasm which swept over Vermont in the period under consideration; the same forces which brought the state to a realization of its responsibilities toward a more wide-spread diffusion of educational advantages above the elementary level, also operated at first to increase the number of academies.

In the immediate wake of this twenty-year period of popular interest in the academy idea, however, the decline of the movement becomes first apparent. A falling off in the number of new schools incorporated is noticeable in the late sixties and becomes pronounced in the next decade. A saturation point had been reached, and the awakened interest of the state in its school systems, resulting in the passage of considerable legislation aiming to improve both the common and secondary schools, was beginning to bear fruit. The work of Horace Mann in Massachusetts was presumably an indirect instrument which furthered the cause of a better organized, more universal system of education in Vermont. Early in this period two enterprising communities, Brattleboro (1841) and Windsor (1844), acting under local leadership, made the first attempts to establish graded systems of public schools to be supported (in part) by public taxation;[1] and by the end of the period (according to the reports issued

1. Grizzell: *op. cit.*, pp. 227-236.

by the Secretary of the newly authorized Board of Education) eleven towns in all had adopted graded systems with a central or union high school.[1]

1. Mentioned in

1st report (1857)	2d report (1858)	3d report (1859)
		Brattleboro (1841)
		Windsor (1844)
Burlington (1850)		
St. Albans (1851)		
St. Johnsbury (1856)		
Rutland (1857)		
	Bellows Falls (1858)	
		East Hardwick (1859)
Montpelier		
Williston		
		Woodstock

The fact that Brattleboro and Windsor are not mentioned in Secretary Adams' first report inclines one to the belief that the union schools in these towns were little influenced by the Acts of 1841 and 1844 which first provided for union districts. The other nine towns were probably more or less affected by such legislation, for in this first report Adams states that the union high schools in the six towns mentioned were established under the act "advancing the interest of the union and graded system." (Bush: *op. cit.*, p. 61. From *First Annual Report of Secretary of Vermont Board of Education*, p. 71.)

. . . . . .

EDITORIAL NOTE

Appendices A-G, in the author's original study, are concerned with certain significant legislative acts, a transcript of the labor account at Burr Seminary, and lists of text books used at several early academies.

Also omitted, for lack of space, are sections dealing with (1) the factors responsible for the decline of the academy; (2) the relationships of the academy with the common school, the college and the public high school; (3) the aims of the academy, its curricula, courses of study, etc.; (4) the organization of the school (attendance, tuition, exhibitions, reports, etc.); (5) the social character of the enrolment, student activities, etc.; and (6) instruction and supervision (recitations. lectures, instructional materials, etc.), as well as biographical sketches of notable educators.

A. W. P.

APPENDIX H

County Grammar Schools and Academies Incorporated between 1780 and 1870

1780	Clio Hall	Bennington
1785*	Windsor County Grammar School	Norwich
1787†	Rutland County Grammar School	Castleton
1791	Athens Grammar School (Windham Hall)	Athens (?)
1792	Cavendish Grammar School (Cavendish Academy)	Cavendish
1795	Caledonia County Grammar School	Peacham
1797	Addison County Grammar School	Middlebury
1799	Franklin County Grammar School	St. Albans
1800	Montpelier Academy (later Washington C. G. S.)	Montpelier
1801	Windham County Grammar School (Windham Hall)	Newfane
1801	Chittenden County Grammar School	Waterbury
1801	Brattleborough Academy (Asylum of Youth)	Brattleboro
1804	Dorset Grammar School (Dorset Academy)	Dorset
1805	Vermont Academy	Rutland
1805	Essex County Grammar School	Guildhall
1805	Randolph Grammar School (Orange County Grammar School)	Randolph
1806	Brandon Academy	Brandon
1807	Royalton Academy (County Grammar School at Royalton)	Royalton
1808	Franklin County Grammar School	Fairfield
1810	West Rutland Academy	West Rutland
1810	Addison Literary Society	Addison
1811	Newton Academy	Shoreham
1812	Union Academy in Hubbardton	Hubbardton
1814	Wallingford Academy	Wallingford
1814	Windsor Female Academy	Windsor
1814	Chester Academy	Chester
1817	Arlington Academy	Arlington
1817	Union Academy	Bennington
1819	Thetford Academy	Thetford
1819	Poultney Female Academy	Poultney
1820	Bradford Academy	Bradford
1820	Orleans County Grammar School at Brownington (Brownington Academy)	Brownington
1821	Hartland Academy	Hartland
1822	Vergennes Academy	Vergennes
1822	Londonderry Grammar Academy	Londonderry

* Established in 1785. Incorporated in 1807.

† Established in 1787. Incorporated in 1805; reincorporated in 1828 as Vermont Classical High School.

1823	Concord Academy	Concord
1824	St. Johnsbury Female Academy	St. Johnsbury
1824	Hinesburgh Academy	Hinesburgh
1826	Columbian Academy	Windsor
1826	Townshend Academy	Townshend
1828	Jericho Academy	Jericho
1828	The Female School Association (Middlebury Female Seminary)	Middlebury
1829	Burr Seminary	Manchester
1829	Orleans County Grammar School at Craftsbury (Craftsbury Academy)	Craftsbury
1829	Burlington High School	Burlington
1830	Newbury High School	Newbury
1831	Brattleborough East Village High School	Brattleboro
1831	Caledonia County Grammar School at Lyndon	Lyndon
1832	Vermont Scientific and Literary Institute at Brandon	Brandon
1832	Brattleborough High School Association	Brattleboro
1833	Orange County Independent Grammar School	Chelsea
1833	Newbury Seminary	Newbury
1834	Black River Academy	Ludlow
1834	Leland Classical and English School (Leland and Gray Seminary)	Townshend
1834	Troy Conference Academy	Poultney
1835	Brookfield Female Seminary	Brookfield
1836	Chittenden County Grammar School at Richmond	Richmond
1836	Burlington Female Academy	Burlington
1836	Lamoille County Grammar School	Johnson
1838	Georgia Academy	Georgia
1839	Enosburgh Academy	Enosburgh
1839	The Derby Literary and Theological Institute	Derby
1840	Phillips Academy	Danville
1846	Corinth Academical Institute	Corinth
1846	Manchester Female Seminary	Manchester
1846	Northfield Academy	Northfield
1847	Peoples Academy	Morrisville
1847	West Randolph Academy	West Randolph
1848	Chelsea Academy	Chelsea
1848	Green Mountain Liberal Institute	South Woodstock
1849	Barre Academy	Barre
1849	North Bennington Academy	North Bennington
1849	Franklin Academical Institute	Franklin
1849	Bell Institute	Underhill
1849	Female Collegiate Institute	Newbury
1850	Rutland Academy	Rutland
1850	Stowe Academy	Stowe
1850	Montpelier Female Seminary	Montpelier

1851	Fairfax Academy	Fairfax
1851	Wilmington Academy	Wilmington
1851	Swanton Falls Academy	Swanton Falls
1851	Woodstock Academy	Woodstock
1851	Rockingham Academy	Rockingham
1852	Londonderry Academy	Londonderry
1852	Underhill Academy	Underhill Flats
1852	Orleans Liberal Institute	Orleans
1852	Richmond Academy	Richmond
1852	Bristol High School	Bristol
1853	Island Pond Academy	Island Pond
1853	McIndoes Falls Academy	McIndoes Falls
1853	West River Academy	Londonderry (South village)
1853	Hammond Female Institute	Fayetteville
1853	Springfield Wesleyan Seminary	Springfield
1853	Chittenden County Institute	Essex Center
1853	Northern Educational Union	Fairfax
1854	Barton Academy	Barton
1854	Vermont Episcopal Institute	Burlington
1854	Union Institute	Bakersfield
1855	Green Mountain Academy	Underhill Centre
1855	Mississquoi Valley Academy	North Troy
1855	Vergennes Academy	Vergennes
1857	Albany Academy	Albany
1857	Waterford Institute*	Waterford
1857	Westfield Grammar School	Westfield
1858	Coventry Academy	Coventry
1858	Springfield Female Collegiate Institute	Springfield
1860	Ballard Academy	East Poultney
1860	Charleston Academy	Charleston (West village)
1860	South Hardwick Academy	South Hardwick
1861	Glenwood Ladies' Seminary	Brattleboro
1862	Holland Academy	Holland
1863	Green Mountain Central Institute (Goddard Seminary)	Barre
1865	West Rupert Educational Institute	West Rupert
1865	Vermont Conference Seminary and Female College	Montpelier
1866	Morgan Academy	Morgan
1866	Rochester Academy	Rochester
1867	Norwich English and Classical Boarding School	Norwich
1867	Lyndon Literary and Biblical Institution (Lyndon Institute)	Lyndon

* Purpose was "to afford increased facilities for qualifying female teachers in the useful and ornamental branches of education." (*Acts and Resolves*, 1857, pp. 128-129.)

Our hazy and fragmentary knowledge of the early academy and grammar school development in Vermont's history has been a source of marked confusion in any attempt to grasp in historical terms the significance of the early periods. The impression such schools made on the life of the state was not a matter of a few decades, but an effect so lasting that even in the present it is utterly impossible to understand the genius of the state without realizing what a significant part the old schools played in creating the Vermont we know.

It seems most fortunate that through the courtesy of Doctor Andrews we should be able to make available to readers and students parts of the results of his scholarly study of the early academy and grammar school movement in Vermont. His dissertation, as submitted to the Graduate School of Yale University in 1930, included an analysis of the rise of the public high school system, but owing to limitations of space and the fact that the later period does not need clarification as does the earlier, we have omitted his material on the later period, trusting that later on the entire study will find publication in book form. Readers will note, also, that certain omissions are indicated in the text as we print it; these omissions were made by Doctor Andrews and cover minor elements which do not affect the continuity of the story of the older schools.

Around many of the older academies have grown up clustered traditions which make a rich and memorable background and which find expression in old loyalties that reach far beyond the small area in which a school found its field of service. As a result, a few histories have appeared, but the effort involved in preparing such histories has often been a deterrent to those thinking of such an undertaking. Doctor Andrews' study with its authentic material will serve, I hope, as a springboard for those who wish to rescue the details of the past of some beloved institution from oblivion. While the past has been compared to the stern light of a ship, throwing its beam always backward, there is still definite meaning in the old reflection—"Look unto the Past, and it shall teach thee." The sturdy independence, idealism, and individuality of Vermont still draw their vitality from roots that run deep.

We are fortunate that a scholar of Doctor Andrews' standing and background interested himself in this field in which a high degree of skill in research is necessary if there is to be achievement. Doctor

Andrews was graduated from Amherst College in 1916. He received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Yale University in 1930 after seven years of teaching in secondary schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut. For the past five or six years he has been engaged in collecting material and in studying the life and work of the American sect of Shakers. Research which sprang originally from an interest in the furniture and craftsmanship of the society has been extended to all phases of this communal culture: its industries, literature, folk arts and history. Doctor and Mrs. Andrews have published several articles on Shaker furniture in the magazine *Antiques*, and this winter the Yale University Press will issue an illustrated book on the subject. In 1932 the University of the State of New York, through the New York State Museum, published his *The Community Industries of the Shakers*, an illustrated handbook of 322 pages, as well as a circular, *The New York Shakers and their Industries*. Doctor and Mrs. Andrews have had several exhibitions of Shaker craftsmanship, industry, and religious art, the last at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York in the fall of 1935. Their home and house-museum is in Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

A. W. P.